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THE
TICONDEROGA EXPEDITION
OF 1775



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
ROBERT O. BASCOM
BY
GRENVILLE M. INGALSBEE





ROBERT O. BASCOM

Born Nov. 18, 1855.

Died May 19, 1909.

ROBERT O. BASCOM.

By GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE.

I. Biographical Sketch.

Robert O. Bascom, student, lawyer, historian and archeologist, died at his home in Fort Edward, on the 19th day of May, 1909, aged fifty-three years. He was born in Orwell, Vermont, and traced his paternal ancestry through successive generations of sturdy New England stock to Thomas Bascom, a native of England, who emigrated to America in 1634, and settled in Windsor, Connecticut. His great, great grandfather, Ezekial Bascom, was a participant in the Colonial Wars, and his great grandfather, Elias Bascom, was a soldier of the Revolution.

After attending the High Schools of Brandon and Shoreham, Vermont, and laying broadly the foundations of an education, Mr. Bascom entered the Fort Edward Collegiate Institute, and graduated from that institution in 1876. He continued, for a time, at the Institute, winning an enviable reputation as a teacher. He became attracted, however, by the profession of law, and decided to devote his energies to its service.

He commenced and pursued his legal studies, with his characteristic enthusiasm, and was admitted to the Bar in 1883. Shortly afterwards he opened an office in Fort Edward, and entered upon the successful practice of his profession. From that time until his death, though doing much valuable work in other fields, he was first a lawyer, well grounded in the principles of the law, and apt in their interpretation and application.

In 1905, a vacancy occurred in the Office of District Attorney of Washington County, and Mr. Bascom was appointed to that position. His official work was so satisfactory that in the fall of that year he was elected for a term of three years. At its expiration he was re-elected and had just entered upon his second elec-

tive term when he was stricken with the malady which caused his death.

Mr. Bascom was a charter member and the President of the Adirondack Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, a member of the Fort Edward Lodge, F. and A. M.; the Fort Edward Club; the National Geographic Society; the Ticonderoga Historical Society; the Vermont Historical Society; the New York State Historical Association; the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and the New York State Bar Association. In this latter Association he performed much efficient work as a member of the Committee on Grievances, and of its sub-committee having in charge the inquiry against Mr. Justice Hooker, in 1904.

He had been a Trustee of the New York State Historical Association since its organization, and for seven years its Secretary. In 1901 he prepared a valuable monograph for the Annual Meeting of the Association, which it afterward printed. He attended to the publication of six volumes of the Proceedings of the Association, a labor of no small magnitude to a man busily engrossed in the active duties of an exacting profession. He assumed the task, however, cheerfully, and performed it faithfully, as the volumes issued under his direction, testify. In his work he was accurate, thorough and painstaking. The State Historical Association is greatly indebted to him for his unselfish and untiring labors in its behalf, and his death is a serious loss.

After he made choice of his profession, Mr. Bascom was first of all a lawyer, but he remained always a student, an investigator along many lines, social, bibliographical, philosophical, political, antiquarian and historical. In no field was he more at home than that of historical research, and to it he devoted much time and thought. Indeed, the quest for historical lore seemed to be one of his recreations.

He had published much, and he had gathered much more. He was constantly in search of historical material. He had reached the meridian of life, his professional standing was established, he was enjoying the rewards of accomplished attainment and he was looking forward to the calm years of the sunset slope,—the

stress and strain of life relaxed, when he could devote himself more and more to congenial tasks, outside the work and weariness of his profession. Could he have done this, the sum of human knowledge would have been much increased, and the world correspondingly benefitted. But it was not to be.

When such a life is closed we should pause and give credit. Its memory should not be allowed to vanish from the minds of men. When a man is found, in these days of greed and commercialism, firm rooted, and eager to give of his best in thought and deed, for the benefit of his fellowmen, his work and worth should be duly recognized and accredited.

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- "Mexico."
- "Havana."
- "The Green Mountain Boys."
- "William McKinley."
- "Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots."
- "Vermont."
- "The Tartar Invasion."
- "President Garfield."
- "The Land of Chaldeans."

THE
TICONDEROGA EXPEDITION
OF 1775

LIST OF MEN WITH ETHAN ALLEN

By the late Robert O. Bascom.

ANECDOTES AND DATA ABOUT ALLEN

By the late Robert O. Bascom.

With Emendatory Notes by James Austin Holden.

ADDITIONS TO BASCOM'S ALLEN'S MEN,

Anecdotes and Data regarding Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga Expedition

By James Austin Holden.

SOME HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

About the Ticonderoga Expedition—and Who Took Fort George

By James Austin Holden.

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THE MEN WITH ETHAN ALLEN AT THE CAP- TURE OF TICONDEROGA.

May 10th, 1775.

By the Late ROBERT O. BASCOM, Secretary of the Association.
With Additions and Emendatory Notes* by JAMES A. HOLDEN.

Fort Edward, N. Y., Aug. 25, 1906.

It is now some years since the effort was first made to collect the names of the Green Mountain Boys, with their associates from Massachusetts and Connecticut, who were present at the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen on May 10th, 1775. With each successive publication the list has slowly grown until as will be seen it now includes, as I believe, 53 of the original 83 that actually entered the fort with Allen. It is possible that the remaining 30 names are to be found among the men who accompanied the expedition from Connecticut and Massachusetts.

During the time that has elapsed since this effort to restore the roster was commenced, many names have come to my notice of men who were engaged in some capacity in the expedition. Some of them went to Skenesborough; some went to Albany; some remained on the Vermont side at Hand's Cove and went the next day to Crown Point. These names I have preserved and as has often been the case the information in relation to them has been accompanied with some few items of personal history, and sometimes there has been a little crumb of new historic information, all of which I have endeavored to treasure up.

It is said that after Colonel Herrick's party had gone to Skenesborough, 140 men remained at Castleton. In the list which I send you with this, are the names of 96 men that I believe took part in some capacity in the expedition against Ticonderoga and

*All additional or edited matter in brackets. [].

Crown Point and Skenesborough. There are yet a good many names to be added before the list shall be complete, but it is not altogether improbable or impossible but that many additions may yet be made to the roll.

ROBERT O. BASCOM,
Secretary of the New York Historical Association,

THE LIST.

(In the following list those marked thus (*) are believed to belong to the 83 immortals who entered the fort with Allen—53 names. Those marked thus (x) have a military record in the Vermont Revolutionary rolls, 50 in number.)

x* Col. Ethan Allen stands at the head of this list. He was in command of the expedition, marched into the fort at the head of the center file of men and demanded and received the surrender of the fort in the name of the "Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" as he said, but it will be observed that some attribute the use of different language to him on that occasion. His life and public services are so well known that it seems unnecessary here to give further details thereof.

x Ira Allen, brother of Ethan, was paid by Connecticut for services in connection with this expedition, but so far it does not appear what those services were. (See Conn. Men in the Revolution.) Hiland Hall's Vermont, pp. 454-455. J. A. H.]

x Heman Allen, brother of Ethan, was with the party at Bennington. (Chittenden, page 33.) [Hiland Hall's Vermont page 454. J. A. H.]

x Levi Allen, brother of Ethan, was one of the Connecticut party and was with the expedition at Norfolk and also at Bennington. (Connecticut Historical Collections, Vol. I, page 167. Chittenden, page 33).

x* Ebenezer Andrews [of Mount Holly,] is said to have been present at the capture. (Proceedings Vermont Historical Society, 1903-4, page 98.)

* John Alexander of Brattleborough is said to have been present at the capture. (Id. page 98.)

x* Ebenezer Allen of Poultney, Vt., said to have been a relative of Ethan and to have been with him at Ticonderoga, was one of the first settlers of Poultney, born in Northampton, Mass., October 17, 1743; married, 1762, Miss Richards. Moved to Bennington 1768. Lieutenant in Warner's regiment, 1775, afterwards resided at Tinmouth. Delegate to several of the Vermont Conventions; Captain in Herriek's Regiment of Rangers; died in Burlington, March 26th, 1806. (Men of Vermont, page 53.) [See also Hiland Hall's History of Vermont, page 451. J. A. H.]

* Benedict Arnold entered the fort by the side of Allen. [Some authorities say ahead of Allen. J. A. H.]

x* Thomas Ashley of Poultney, Vt., was one of seven brothers who came to that town and were among its first settlers. His brother Elijah said that Thomas was the next man to Allen that entered the Fort at Old Ticonderoga. He stood as sentinel at the head of the stairs when Allen entered the room of the commander and demanded the surrender of the fort. He was twice married, his second wife being the widow of Zebediah Dewey. (History of Poultney, page 29.) [See also Journal of Am. His. for 1909, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 602-03, for silhouette and sketch J. A. H.]

x* Samuel Barnet was a Scotchman. The town of Barnet, Vt., takes its name from this family. John Kennedy, who was at the capture, the brother-in-law of Barnet, was with him when they marched into the fort by the side of Ethan Allen. (Statement of Geo. Kennedy, Burlington, Vermont.) [He was afterwards Lt. Col. in Sheldon's Light Horse. Conn. His. Soc'y. Col. Vol. I. page 167. J. A. H.]

Samuel Blagden of Salisbury, Conn., was with the party at Castleton and went to Whitehall. (Gordon's American Revolution, pp. 11-12.)

x* Gershom Beach of Salisbury, Vt., is said to have been present. (Proceedings Vermont Historical Society 1903-4, page 98.)

* Ozias Bissell is said to have been present at the capture. (Empire State S. A. R., Reg. p. 381.)

Thomas Barber, 3rd, was with the party at Norfolk, Conn. (Conn. Historical Collections, Vol. I, page 167.)

* Col. John Brown of Pittsfield, entered the fort with Allen. A graduate of Yale College. King's attorney at Johnstown, N. Y., and acquainted with Sir John Johnson. Moved to Pittsfield, Mass., 1773, held various military offices, killed October 19, 1780, in the 36th year of his age. He is said to have been engaged in the capture. (Conn. Men in Revolution Field's Berkshire, page 59. Chittenden, page 110.) [See Smith's History of Pittsfield, Mass.; J. G. Holland's History Western Massachusetts, and History Berkshire County, Mass., for fuller details regarding Brown. J. A. H.]

Epaphras Bull of Hartford, Conn., was one of the war committee under whose direction the expedition proceeded. (Conn. Men in Revolution. Chittenden, page 103.)

x* Nathan Beman, who was Allen's guide into the fort, in 1835 wrote as follows: "I was over 18 years old and resided with my father, Samuel Beman, in the town of Shoreham, Vt., nearly opposite the fort. I had been in the habit of visiting the fort very frequently, being well acquainted with Captain Delaplace's family and other young people residing there. On the day preceding the capture my father and mother dined by invitation with Captain Delaplace. I was with the party and spent the day in and about the fort. On our return to Shoreham in the evening and just as we were landing we discovered troops approaching who we soon ascertained to be Allen and his party. To my father, with whom he had been long acquainted, Allen stated his object, and the proper measures were at once concerted for at once accomplishing it." (The Malone Palladium, May 28th, 1835.) [Beman's reputation for veracity suffered greatly at the hands of later historians. J. A. H.]

Judge Samuel A. Beman of Malone, N. Y., is a lineal descendant of Nathan Beman. The judge adds a little family tradition: "Delaplace, upon seeing Nathan with Colonel Allen, exclaimed, 'What, you here, Nathan, and am I your prisoner?' In response

to the inquiry Nathan replied, 'Not mine, but Colonel Allen's.' '' Nathan Beman afterwards served in Colonel Seth Warner's regiment, was with Montgomery at Montreal and Quebec; and his father, Samuel, served in Benedict Arnold's regiment in the same campaign.

Samuel Beman, the father, lived at Shoreham upon the farm owned by the late Judge Myron Platt, into which Hand's Cove projects from Lake Champlain. It was from this cove that Allen and his party embarked for the capture of Fort Ti. In ancient days a little rivulet ran through this farm westerly toward Lake Champlain, cutting through clay banks of the lake making a deep and broad hollow in places a quarter or half a mile in width. It is a marsh filled with a tangled growth of wild grasses and rushes. The stream has almost disappeared although it was once sufficient to turn a sawmill. When the woods covered the hills the locality would form a convenient place where a considerable body of men might gather without danger of being observed from the opposite side of the lake. The mouth of the cove is probably two and one-half or three miles distant from the point upon Lake Champlain where Allen and his party landed on the New York shore. The Hand's Cove Chapter of the D. A. R. take their name from this historic spot and the patriotic ladies of this Chapter have erected a marker on the farm formerly owned by Samuel Beman to designate the spot where Allen and his party embarked upon their immortal voyage.

Nathan Beman married Jemima, daughter of John and Susanne Roberts of Manchester, Vt. Nathan appears in Manchester not long after the capture of Fort Ti. and probably returned to that place with the expedition. He and his wife left Manchester before 1800 and went to Ferrisburgh, Vt., removing thence to Plattsburgh, N. Y., where he became one of the first settlers of Chateaugay, N. Y.

In the family of Nathan's wife the tradition obtains that Nathan was a playmate of the son of Captain Delaplace and that the captain's wife had been very kind to Nathan, and Nathan before undertaking to act as a guide for Allen, stipulated that no harm should come to either the boy or his mother. From this

same source the information is obtained that Samuel Beman, the father, and his brother, Abner, were scouts in the employ of Washington. (Statement of E. G. Tuttle, Manchester, Vt.)

x* Major Samuel Beach of Whiting, Vt., was born in New Jersey, his parents removing to Virginia and finally to Vermont prior to the Revolution. He was at Castleton with Allen and was sent to rally the Green Mountain Boys. He started on this mission at day-break, going from Castleton to Rutland, to Pittsford, Brandon, Leicester, Salisbury, Middlebury, Cornwall, Whiting and Shoreham, a distance of 64 miles. Smith in his history says this was accomplished "between the rising and the setting of the sun." Others say that the time occupied was 24 hours. Perhaps the expression "between the rising and the setting of the sun" may be considered a figurative one. Smith says, "The following day at early dawn he entered the fort by the side of Allen." His descendants still treasure the silk stockings worn by him on this march and the staff which he carried, and they likewise preserved a silk vest presented him by Washington, which has the general's profile woven in the silk in over 30 different places. He served throughout the revolution as a recruiting officer and in later years received a pension. Two daughters survive him. The monument marking his grave at Whiting village bears this inscription: "Major Samuel Beach, died April 10th, 1829, aged 77 years. An officer in the war of the Revolution and one of the few who under Allen surprised and took Ticonderoga. (Smith's History of Addison County, page 728. Statement E. N. Bissell, East Shoreham, Vt.)

x* Isaac Buck, supposed to have been born in New Milford, Conn., about 1735, married Elizabeth Waters; settled in Pittsford, Vt., about 1770; removed to Addison, Vt.; died in Madrid, N. Y.; entered the fort with Allen. (History of Pittsford, page 100.)

Simeon Belding of Hartford, Conn., was with the expedition.

Elijah Babcock was one of the four men from Hartford that accompanied the expedition. He was not present at the capture. (Chittenden, page 103.)

Col. John Biglow, Hartford, Conn., accompanied the expedition. He went to Skenesborough with Colonel Herriek. (Chittenden, page 103. Gordon's American Revolution, pp. 11-13.)

* Amos Callender, born September 13, 1744, at Sheffield, Mass., a son of John and Mary Smith Callender. Married Johanna Dewey, daughter of Captain Stephen Dewey. An early settler at Shoreham, Vt. The second meeting of the proprietors of that town was held at his house, 1783. He must have been near Allen and Arnold as they entered the fort for when the controversy arose between Allen and Arnold as to who should lead the men, each declaring he would go into the fort first, Allen turned to Amos and said: "What shall I do with the damned rascal? shall I put him under guard?" Callender suggested that they enter the fort together. After the capture he was sent in command of a small party to take the fort at the head of Lake George and was afterwards sent with the prisoners to Hartford, Conn. (History of Shoreham, page 12. Statement of W. T. Dewey, Montpelier, Vt.) [Neither tradition nor history bear out the contention that Callender took Fort George. Col. Romans made the capture. DeCosta's Narrative of Events at Lake George, page 73. Holden's Queensbury, pp. 395-404. J. A. H.]

* Major Noah Callender was with his father, Amos Callender, and near enough to Allen as the latter entered the fort so that when the sentinel snapped his fuzee at Allen the latter struck a blow at the soldier's head which would have inflicted a wound thereon probably sufficient to have killed him if the force of the blow had not been broken by a comb with which the soldier's hair was done up. (History of Shoreham, page 16.)

x* Col. John Chipman of Middlebury, Vt., the librarian of the Sheldon Art Museum at Middlebury, Vermont, says,—that Col. Chipman wrote: "I turned out at the commencement of the war as a volunteer with Col. Allen in the spring of 1775 to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Was at the taking of St. John's and Montreal. Was in the battle of Hubbardton, also in the battle of Bennington and at Saratoga at the taking of Burgoyne." Prof. Kellogg in a sketch of the life of Col. Chipman written in 1866 says that Col. Chipman was present as a volunteer when Allen

seized the keys to Ticonderoga. (Henry L. Sheldon, Middlebury, Vermont.) [Col. Chipman was in command of Fort George (Town of Caldwell, N. Y.), in 1780, and forced to surrender to Major Christopher Carleton Oct. 11, 1780. See DeCosta's *Lake George*. Holden's *History Queensbury*. Hough's *Northern Invasion*. J. A. H.]

x Col. Robert Cochran of Rupert, Vermont, was one of the captains in the Ticonderoga expedition and went with Warner to the capture of Crown Point the next day. He died at Sandy Hill, N. Y., July 3rd, 1812, and is buried in the Union cemetery at Fort Edward, N. Y. (Men of Vermont, page 52.) [Two Mss. orderly books belonging to Col. Cochran are in my possession, and his certificate of membership in the Order of the Cincinnati is in the A. W. Holden Collection at the Glens Falls Academy. It is signed by George Washington and Henry Knox. J. A. H.]

x* Col. Benjamin Cooley, born April 30, 1747, married in 1773 Ruth Beach, was one of the first settlers in the town of Pittsford, Vermont. Came from Greenwich, Mass. He and Isaac Buck, Jr., John Deming, Hopkins Rowley and Ephraim Stevens all of Pittsford, were among the men that responded to the call of Major Samuel Beach when he made the celebrated march rallying the Green Mountain boys. Caverly in his history of Pittsford says that these five men were among the first to cross the lake, to enter the covered passage, and to parade upon the square within the fort. This claim is sufficiently explicit to entitle all of these five men to a place among the immortal eighty-three. Cooley died February 27, 1810. There are many descendants in Vermont and throughout the West. It is said that Cooley got the word from Beach himself and notified the other four. (History of Pittsford, page 100. Statement of W. B. Butler, Florence, Vt.)

* John Crigo of Shoreham, Vermont, was one of the first settlers of that town where he lived 1766. He entered the Fort with Allen. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

* Amariah Dana, son of Samuel Dana, married Dorothy May and resided in Pomfret, Conn., until about 1771, when he removed with his family to Amherst, Mass. He was born 1738,

died 1830, the father of sixteen children. It is a matter of family tradition that he was one of Allen's party at the capture of Fort Ti. This tradition is somewhat strengthened by the obituary notice of one of his daughters, in which notice her father is mentioned as one of those who were with Ethan Allen at the capture of Fort Ti. There are descendants in Vermont and Pennsylvania. (Statement of S. W. Dana, New Castle, Pa. Statement Mrs. C. H. Lane, Middlebury, Vermont.)

Captain Asa Douglas of Jericho, Mass., accompanied the expedition and seems to be the man who went to Panton, Vermont, to secure boats for the expedition across Lake Champlain. It is said that he has relatives living in that town.

* Captain Israel Dickinson of Pittsfield, Mass., accompanied the expedition and it would seem from Col. Easton's report that he was present at the capture. (History of Pittsfield, Mass., p. 222.) He is said to have been "engaged in the capture." (Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

* Matthew Dunning of South Williamstown, Mass., was present at the capture. (Mass. Soldier's & Sailors' of the Revolution.)

* John Deming of Pittsford, Vermont, is said to have been formerly from Conn., and there is a tradition that he was an Indian trader and fighter. He was one of the Pittsford party and entered the fort. No further information. (History of Pittsford, p. 100.)

x Josiah Dunning, born in Newtown, Conn., October 7, 1775, removed to Pownal, Vermont, afterwards to Williamson, New York. In 1775 while living at Pownal he enlisted in a volunteer company for the capture of Fort Ti., under Captain Samuel Wright. The company marched to Castleton. Dunning was one of the party that went to Skenesborough, now Whitehall, and after the capture of that place they sailed in a schooner down the lake, arriving at Ticonderoga the morning after the surrender. He witnessed a dispute between Col. Allen and Col. Arnold relative to which one of them was entitled to the command. Both drew their swords and the men under their commands had raised and cocked

their muskets when a private named Edward Richards stepped forward and with great firmness commanded both officers to put up their swords and called on the soldiers of both parties to arrest them if they did not desist. This ended the dispute. Dunning was afterwards captain of a company and was engaged in the battle of Bennington and also at Saratoga. (Pension Record Josiah Dunning.)

x* Lieut. Benjamin Everest came with his father to Addison, Vermont, about 1768. He was with Allen at the capture of Fort Ti. and went with Warner to the capture of Crown Point. He participated in the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington and for his bravery received the thanks of Warner. His tombstone says he was born at Salisbury, Conn., January 12th, 1752, died March 3rd, 1843. The same authority speaks of him as "the Christian, the philanthropist, the Revolutionary hero and the patriot." Smith's History Addison County, p. 369.) [Lieut. Everest was the grandfather of Charles F. Everest of Glens Falls. Lieut. Everest had several narrow escapes from the Indians once jumping overboard, after being captured by them, although it was November, and swimming a long distance in Lake Champlain. Upon another occasion he skated away on the ice, from a party of Indians who had surrounded him. Vermont Historical Magazine, pp. 10-11-12. J. A. H.]

* Col. James Easton, Pittsfield, Mass., was second in command and entered the fort with Allen. The second sentinel encountered by the storming party as they entered the fort made a thrust at Col. Easton when Allen struck the sentinel on the head with his sword. Col. Mott in his report says that Col. Easton was of great service both in counsel and government. (History of Pittsfield, pp. 218-221. Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

x* Dr. Jonas Fay of Bennington seems to have accompanied the expedition in capacity of surgeon and was among those who received pay for their services on this expedition. (Conn. Men in the Revolution. Men of Vermont, p. 51.) [See Dawson's Hist. Mag. 2nd series, Vol. I, page 109, letter of Allen about Fay's services. J. A. H.]

x Josiah Fuller of Bennington, Vermont, "Surgeon's Mate" was paid by the State of Connecticut for his services on this expedition. (Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

George Foote of Castleton, Vermont, afterwards of Bennington, was one of the pioneers of Vermont and one of the party of Green Mountain boys to apply the "beach seal" to the settlement of Yorkers at Vergennes. He stood by the side of Allen on the 10th of May when the demand for the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga was made. A correspondent says that he has seen a letter from a brother of George Foote in which the brother says that George was the third man from Ethan Allen when they went into the fort. (Foote Genealogy. G. G. Benedict, Burlington, Vermont.)

Ezra Heacock, Sheffield, Conn., accompanied the expedition and went with Noah Phelps at the time the latter entered the fort as a spy. (Chittenden's Ticonderoga, page 104. Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

x Col. Samuel Herrick was with the expedition at Castleton and was sent from there to Skenesborough in command of the expedition directed against the establishment at that place. (Men of Vermont, p. 49.)

Elias Herrick of Hartford was one of the Connecticut party.

[Lieut.] Jeremiah Halsey of Preston, Conn., accompanied the expedition and went to Albany—probably to buy provisions. (Chittenden's Ticonderoga, p. 103.) [See also Journal of Capt. Mott, page 169. Conn. Hist. Col., Vol. I. J. A. H.]

* Israel Harris, born February, 1747, Cornwall, Conn., married Sarah Morris, resided at Williamstown, Mass., 1775. Moved to Rutland, Vermont, 1782, thence to South Hartford, N. Y., where he died November 28, 1836. He entered the service in May, 1775, and volunteered to march with a company under Col. Allen against the fortress of Ticonderoga. He marched from Williamstown to Castleton, Vermont, thence to Ticonderoga and entered the fortress on the morning of May 10. In a few days he returned to Williamstown. Family tradition says that he entered the fort just behind Allen. He was present at the surrender of St. Johns

in December, 1775, and participated in another expedition in July to Fort Anne. Was engaged in the battle of Bennington and was granted a captain's pension by the United States. The Israel Harris Chapter, D. A. R., of Granville, N. Y., takes its name from this member of the Spartan band. Among the descendants of this family the tradition is strong and often repeated that Allen's first salutation to Delaplace was "Come out of that hole, you damned old rat," and the statement is also often repeated that Harris himself said that he was directly behind Allen when they entered the fort. (Pension Office Records. Statement of Jos. Northrup, St. Albans, Vt.; of Arthur Harris Smythe, Columbus, Ohio; and of James D. Butler, Madison, Wis., "Butlerania," page 99.)

* Nehemiah Hoit of Castleton, Vermont, was the third man to enter the fortress after Ethan Allen. (Hemenway's Gazetteer, Vol. 3, page 506.)

Gershom Hewitt of Hartford, Conn., was with the party at Castleton and went to Albany with Capt. Stevens to buy provisions. (Chittenden, page 104.)

x* Thomas Johnston, of Newbury, Vt., is said to have been present at the capture. (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, 1903-4, page 98.)

* Noah Jones of Shoreham, Vermont, is said to have been present at the capture. (Id.)

x* John Kennedy, Sr., in his lifetime said that he marched into Fort Ti by the side of Ethan Allen and heard him when he demanded the surrender of the fort. He also said that Samuel Barnet, his brother-in-law, was with him at the time. John Kennedy, Sr., was one of the first settlers of the town of Bolton, Vermont. A descendent of John Kennedy states that Kennedy's share of the prize money at the capture of Fort Ti amounted to \$80. Kennedy was a quartermaster in the expedition and was at the taking of Crown Point the next day. He died of fever in the service of his country and was buried at Mt. Independence, Orwell, Vermont. (Statement of George W. Kennedy, Burlington, Vt., and of Sarah Kennedy Lord, Burlington, Vt.)

* John Kennedy, Jr., son of the preceding, is said to have acted as Allen's aid and to have entered the fort with Allen. He

was accustomed to tell his children how the commander of the fortress came to the door "with his breeches in his hand" and how he "never forgot the look of his pale face and naked legs." (Statement of Sarah Kennedy Lord, Burlington, Vt.)

Samuel Keep of Salisbury, Conn., was one of the original grantees of Salisbury, Vermont. He settled at Crown Point about 1773 and it is said that he was one of Allen's advisors in taking the fort. Whether he was present at the capture does not appear. He died in Brandon, 1802, aged 71. (Smith's History of Addison County.)

* Elijah Kellogg was one of the early settlers of Shoreham, Vermont, 1766. Is said to have been the first man to enter the fort after Allen and Arnold. He was taken prisoner in 1777 in an engagement near Castleton and subsequently made his escape. Smith's History of Addison County, page 612. History of Shoreham, page 12.) [Hemingway's Vt. Historical Mag. (Addison) page 94, calls this man "Elias." J. A. H.]

x* Samuel Laughton of Dummerston is said to have been present at the capture. (Vermont Historical Society proceedings, 1903-4, page 98.)

x* Matthew Lyon said he was present at the capture. I am indebted to a gentleman in New York city for the following information: The biography of Matthew Lyon quotes from Annals of the 10th Congress, second session, page 1416, a speech made by Lyon, February 7, 1809, in which he says: "I was a private soldier in one of those companies called minute men who first took up arms in defence of the cause of American liberty and with my gun on my shoulder marched to take Ticonderoga under the command of Ethan Allen." (Pages 113 & 115.) Again at page 498, in a letter written in 1817 Lyon says, "immediately after the Lexington battle I joined Ethan Allen. Eighty-five of us took from 140 British veterans the Fort Ticonderoga," etc. This statement of Matthew Lyon that there were eighty-five present differs from the commonly accepted number of eighty-three as stated by Allen himself, but perhaps Allen did not include himself or Arnold in the statement that he took the fort with eighty-three men. The

subsequent statement of Lyon that there were 140 British veterans would indicate that he was not very accurate in his statement of numbers, however, this may be, the declaration seems to be clear and unequivocal that he was present at the capture.

x* Josiah Lewis of Poultney, Vt., came from Connecticut to that place in 1771. He was present at the capture of Ticonderoga and was in the battle of Hubbardton. He married Mollie Cole in Connecticut. It is said that she rendered important service for the patriots in carrying news, etc., and was paid the same as the soldiers were and that she also received a grant of land of 160 acres in recognition of her services to the Continental army. (History of Poultney, page 299.)

* Captain Lusk.—Governor Trumbull wrote Schuyler March 1st, 1776, that Captain Lusk was “at the first taking of Ticonderoga.”

Ensign Lewis was one of the men who was paid for his services on this expedition by the State of Connecticut. (Conn. Men in the Revolution.)

Captain Noah Lee was with Allen's party at Castleton. From there he was sent with the command that captured Skenesborough. He entered the service when he was but fifteen years of age and saw the surrender of Cornwallis, after which he returned to Castleton, where he died. A monument has been erected in his honor at Castleton by his grandson. (Granville, N. Y., Sentinel, 1903. Chittenden, page 12.)

Capt. Edward Mott of Preston, Conn., was chairman of the war committee that had charge of the expedition for the capture of Ticonderoga. He did not enter the fort. (Chittenden, page 105.)

* Major Amos Morrill.—The authority for placing his name in the roll is derived from the statement in the family Bible, formerly in the possession of the late Jeremiah S. Morrill of St. Albans, Vt., who was a grandson of Major Amos Morrill. This statement reads as follows: “Old Major Amos Morrill, who came from New Hampshire, enlisted for the Revolution and served all through the war of eight years. One of the first companies raised was

brought together at Epsom, N. H. He then enlisted as lieutenant. At Bunker Hill the captain was killed and then he was made captain. He was with Ethan Allen at the taking of Ticonderoga and was one of the eight men to go into the enemies' camp at night. Major Morris died 1810, at St. Albans, Vt." The reference to the eight men going into the enemies' camp at night is not understood by the writer and whether it relates to Ticonderoga is perhaps uncertain. Major Morrill came to Vermont from Epsom, N. H., 1795. When the family Bible says he was present at the taking we are bound to believe that he was one of the immortal eight-three. (Statement of Abbie A. Morrill, North Troy, Vt.) [See also Vermont Historical Proceedings, 1903-04, page 98. Quere—Could the eight men going to the enemies' camp at night have any connection with the legend given further on, that a party of patriots made the English soldiers tipsy? J. A. H.]

William Nichols of Hartford, Conn., was clerk of the war committee. Went to Whitehall. He appears to have kept Romans' accounts of the disbursements on this expedition and there is an entry which shows that Heman Allen was paid one pound for sundries. (Gordon's American Revolution, page 11-13. Chittenden, page 103, DeCosta's Notes on the History of Lake George.)

x Luke Noble of Rupert, Vermont, is said to have been with the expedition. This statement rests entirely upon family tradition. If present he could not have been more than fourteen years of age. He was born February 24, 1761, at Southwick, Mass., and died 1848, at Rupert, Vt. (Statement of Jennie F. Stewart, Rensselaer, N. Y.)

* Daniel Newton of Shoreham, Vermont, was an early settler in that town. As Allen's party were on their way to Hand's Cove they found him chopping. He set his axe at the side of the tree and joined the party. He died in 1834, aged 80 years. A surveyor by profession and is said to have been the original from which the character of Pete Jones in the "Green Mountain Boys" was taken. It is said that Judge D. P. Thompson, the author of the "Green Mountain Boys," made this selection at the suggestion of Governor Jennison of Shoreham, Vt., who was a near neighbor of Daniel Newton. (History of Shoreham, pp. 11, 17, 19; Statement of Elmer Barnum, Shoreham, Vt.)

Capt. Noah Phelps of Simsbury, Conn., was one of the war committee. He was the spy who entered the fort disguised as a farmer in search of a barber. He successfully entered the fort and made himself familiar with the garrison and reported to Allen that it was practicable to surprise the fortress. From the fact that Allen when he reached Hand's Cove secured the service of Nathan Beman as a guide the inference is that Phelps did not regard it as prudent to accompany Allen's party. He was born May 6, 1759, and died unmarried in the American army at Valley Forge. (Force's Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. 2, page 556. History of Shoreham, page 12.)

Capt. Elisha Phelps of Simsbury, Conn., was a brother of Noah and was commissary of the party that went to Whitehall. (Chittenden, page 112.)

Capt. Samuel H. Parsons of Deerfield, Mass., was one of the expedition. (Conn. Historical Society, Vol. 1, page 181.)

* ———Rice is said to have been present at the capture. Lossing in his field book of the Revolution speaks of Isaac Rice who served as his guide at Fort Ti, and it would appear that Isaac had a brother whose first name is not mentioned, who was present with Allen at the time of the surrender. [In the N. E. Mag. for April, 1901, page 127, is a picture of the broken headstone of Isaac Rice who was buried in the old Fort cemetery in 1852. J. A. H.]

* Eli Robards of Vergennes, Vt., is said to have been one of the expedition and to have crossed in the same boat with Allen. If this be true he was one of the eighty-three. I have found no other authority than family tradition for this statement. (Statement of C. D. Waite, 702 St. Nicholas Avenue, N. Y. City.)

x* Thomas Rowley of Shoreham, Vt., was one of Allen's party. An early settler of that town. He came originally from Hebron, Conn. He was the first town clerk of Danby, Vt., and represented that town in the legislature and was chairman of the Committee of Safety. He was one of the judges of Rutland County, Vt. Settled in Larrabee's Point in the town of Shoreham, which place was for some years called Rowley's Point. He died at

Cold Spring in the town of Benson, Vermont, 1803. Was present at the capture. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

x* Thomas Rowley, Jr., son of the above lived for sometime in Shoreham: left that place in 1814 and moved to Buffalo, N. Y., where he died. He entered the fort with Allen. (History of Shoreham, page 162.)

x* Hopkins Rowley of Pittsford was a son of Jonathan Rowley and removed to Shoreham, Vt. He was one of the Pittsford party and is said to have crossed the lake with the first detachment. (History of Shoreham, page 12. Statements of G. W. B. Butler, Florence, Vt., and Mary T. Randall, Pittsford, Vt.)

x John Roberts of Manchester, Vermont, was born 1727; married, 1745, Susanna Mayhew, a lineal descendent of Gov. Thomas Mayhew of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. He came to Manchester in 1764 with the first settlers, bringing his wife and seven children; Peter, born 1747; Benjamin, born 1749; John, born 1751; Christopher, born 1753; Jemima, born 1755; Elizabeth, born 1757, and William, born 1759. The father and all of his sons were identified with the Green Mountain Boys and with Allen and Arnold in the early troubles with the Yorkers and the family tradition is strong that the father and his five sons participated in the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In some former list all of these six names have been found among the eighty-three and it is with reluctance that any change is made in this list. It is altogether probable that all of them participated in the expedition and of Christopher it seems to be so well established that he was at the capture that his name must remain in the list. However, it seems as if, if the father and the five sons had been present at the capture, that Judge Munson in his history of Manchester would have mentioned the fact, whereas he only makes mention of Christopher as being one of the guides of the expedition and as one of the first to enter the fort. John Roberts, the father, was undoubtedly present on the expedition and afterwards went to Canada, was taken prisoner and after his return enlisted "for the whole war." He died 1798.

x Peter Roberts married Jane Baker, 1768, and lived at Dorset, Vermont. He engaged in the expedition against Ticonderoga

and Crown Point, raised a company of men and went to Canada under Warner in 1775, and was in the military service of his country until 1782. He participated in the battles of Hubbardton, Bennington and Saratoga and afterwards removed to Plattsburgh.

x Benjamin Roberts married Annice, daughter of Eliakin Weller. He was one of the Green Mountain Boys and participated in the expedition against Ticonderoga. Was in the expedition against Canada and in the engagement at Hubbardton and Bennington. Subsequently removed to Plattsburg, N. Y., and afterwards to Chateaugay.

x John Roberts married Edna Hilliard of Manchester, Vt. Was engaged in the expedition against Canada. Was in the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington. Removed to Salmon River, N. Y. A daughter of his married Capt. Smith Mead. Their daughter married Roswell Weed, the ancestor of Smith M. Weed of Plattsburg, the eminent Democratic statesman.

x* Gen. Christopher Roberts married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Purdy. By this marriage Christopher was a brother-in-law of Peleg Sutherland, the eminent Vermont partisan. Christopher is said to have been the third man to enter Fort Ti, with Allen. The fact that the claim for this position is made by so many different men does not suggest that any of the claims are fictitious but rather that the men speak of a different period as the time when Allen entered the fort. Christopher was engaged in the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington; was in command of a company detailed to take the women and children to Massachusetts for safety. He held many town and county offices; was a prominent mason and received his first degree with other Green Mountain Boys from Seth Warner under a dispensation from a lodge in Connecticut. He died 1832. Judge Munson says that Christopher was one of Allen's guides and was one of the first to enter the fort.

x William Roberts married Rachel Andrus and was with his brothers in the expedition against Ticonderoga; was engaged in the battles at Hubbardton and Bennington; lived in Dorset, Vermont. This family was known as the "Fighting Roberts Family," and considering the remarkable military record of the father and the five sons it is not surprising that they came to be thus designated.

(Munson's History of Manchester, page 21. Statement of E. G. Tuttle, Manchester Center, Vt.)

Bernard Romans of Hartford, Conn., seems to have been entrusted with important responsibility in the beginning of the expedition. He appears to have become dissatisfied and while he took part to some extent in the expedition he was not present at the capture and does not seem to have operated in harmony with the other men. He was born in Holland and died about 1783. At Bennington May 3rd, 1775, he paid Elisha Phelps 60 pounds for use of the colony of Connecticut. (DeCosta's notes on the History of Fort George.) [He was also the captor of Fort George. J. A. H.]

x Edward Richards.—From the statement contained in the application for the pension of Josiah Dunning he appears to have been present the day after the capture of Ticonderoga, but whether he was one of the eighty-three or not is not known. (Pension Office Records of Josiah Dunning.)

x Capt. John Stevens seems to have been one of the party and it is said that he went to Albany possibly to buy provisions and was probably with the party at Castleton. (Chittenden, page 103.) [See also Conn. Hist. Collections, Vol. I, page 169.]

x Peleg Sunderland went with Seth Warner to the capture of Crown Point and must have been present at Hand's Cove, but whether he was present at the capture of Ticonderoga is uncertain. (Robinson's Vermont, page 111, Chittenden, page 109.)

x* Stephen Smith of Manchester, Vt., entered the fort with Allen. Removed to Shoreham 1784. He is sometimes called Capt. Stephen Smith. He was one of the four brothers who settled early in Shoreham and from whom the beautiful and picturesque Smith Street takes its name. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

x* Nathan Smith, Jr., son of Nathan, brother of Stephen above mentioned, came to Shoreham about 1786. Was present at the capture of Ticonderoga. His father, Major Nathan Smith, was in the battle of Bennington and was one of the first two to scale the breastworks of the British. (History of Shoreham, page 23.)

x John Stevens of Canaan, Conn., was one of the party from that State.

x* Ephraim Stevens of Pittsford, Vermont, a son of Roger Stevens and Mary Doolittle, sister of Col. Doolittle of Shoreham, was a brother of Roger Stevens, the celebrated tory. Was one of the five who went from Pittsford and is said to have crossed the lake with Allen's party and to have come originally from Dutchess County, N. Y. (History of Pittsford, pp. 100-103. (Statement of W. B. Butler, Florence, Vt.)

x* Col. John Spafford of Tinmouth, Vermont, was born in Connecticut, died at Lowville, N. Y., April 24, 1883, aged 71 years. An obituary in an unknown paper states that "he with his company was with Allen and Arnold in the taking of Ticonderoga and was by them directed to join in the expedition under Col. Warner against Crown Point, but he reached that important post before Col. Warner and received himself the sword of the commander, which is now in Col. Spafford's family." Some search by the writer has been made for this sword without success. Col. Spafford represented his town in the legislature of his State and had a family of thirteen children; was captain of a company in the Battle of Bennington and from his own stores provided the supplies for his company. One of his children, Horatio Gates Spafford, born at Dorset, Vermont, just after the battle of Bennington, was the author of the well known Spafford's Gazetteer of New York. Col. John married Mary Baldwin. She died September 9, 1842, at the house of her son, Heman Spafford, at Rutland, Vermont. Col. Spafford with his wife, a bride of but a few months, in 1772 came to Tinmouth from Connecticut in an ox-cart. (Statement of Hattie Platt Squires, North Clarendon, Vt. Vermont Historical Magazine, Vol. 3.) [Dat of death impossible, probably 1823.]

x Col. Seth Warner was in command of the rear guard. He remained on the Vermont side at the time that Allen crossed Lake Champlain with his party. He had command of the expedition that captured Crown Point. (Chittenden, page 104.)

x Joseph Tyler of Bridport, Vermont, was the companion of James Wilcox in the expedition to obtain boats wherewith to cross

Lake Champlain. The two young men are said to have been asleep in the house of Mr. Stone at Bridport on the night when the messenger arrived there and stated to Mr. Stone that he was in search of boats for the use of Allen's party. These two young men succeeded in decoying a boat which was in Lake Champlain in charge of a negro belonging to Major Skene, to the shore, where under promise of some whiskey they induced the negro to row them to Shoreham to join a hunting party. When they arrived at Hand's Cove the negro was made a prisoner. Tyler apparently was not a member of the expedition originally but seems to have joined it at the Cove with Major Skene's boat.

x* Lieut. Samuel Torrey, born Leicester, Mass., June 22nd, 1753, removed to Guilford, Vermont died November 15th, 1838. Married first Sabra Herrick, January 13, 1785; married second Hester Allen, January 5, 1795; married third Olive Smalley Gains, Oct. 1, 1795. It is an ancient and apparently well established tradition that Lieut. Torrey was one of the eighty-three to enter the fort with Allen. Abel Ripley Torrey of Detroit, Mich., in 1875 said that his father, Samuel, was one of those that entered the fort with Ethan Allen. (Statement of T. M. Tobin, Swanton, Vermont, and Clarence Almon Torrey, University of Chicago, Ill.)

x* Lieut. Col. Joseph Wait, born 1732, was an officer in the Continental Army; a brother of Benjamin Wait mentioned below and a son of John Wait. Family tradition and a statement published in a newspaper are the authorities for placing the name of Joseph Wait among the 83 present with Allen at the capture of Fort Ti.

x* Benjamin Wait, brother of the above, saw military service prior to the Revolution. He married a daughter of Capt. Thomas Gilbert of Brookfield, Mass. He was a delegate from Windsor, Vt., to the convention at Westminster, 1775, and was a delegate to the convention that formed the first Vermont constitution. Together with three brothers he served in Herrick's Rangers in the battle of Bennington. In 1775 his conduct was commended by the Vermont State Council in a letter to Col. Samuel Herrick. In 1779 the General Assembly of Vermont granted a charter of the

islands of North Hero and South Hero in Lake Champlain to Ethan Allen, Samuel Herrick and Benjamin Wait. The town of Waitsfield, Vermont, takes its name from this family. He occupied many prominent official positions with great credit to himself. He died February 28, 1822. He is buried by the roadside in Clarendon, Vermont, about three miles south of Rutland, where he died. A monument erected by his fellow officers marks the spot. Family tradition says that he was present at the capture of Ticonderoga. (Statement of Horatio L. Wait, Chicago, Ill., Thompson's Vermont, part 3, page 178.) [See also History of Waitsfield, Vt., recently published, Boston, 1909. J. A. H.]

* Amos Wells was with the party at Norfolk.

* Amos Weller, born in Sharon, Vt., in 1755, married Demis Rowley of that place, 1776; resided at Tinmouth, Vermont, afterwards at Rutland. He was a man of great physical power and among his descendants the tradition is preserved that when Allen arrived at the fort the gate was barred, and Allen turned to Weller and said, "Amos, put shoulder to," and together they forced the gate. Weller was placed on guard over twelve men with orders to shoot the first who should make resistance. He saw considerable military service after this time; was present at the capture of Crown Point and at the engagement at St. Johns. (Records at Pension Office. Statement of Kate Wright Prouty, Burlington, Vt., Smith's History of Addison County, page 764.) [All published accounts agree that the postern or wicket gate was open although the larger gate was closed. J. A. H.]

x James Wilcox of Bridport, Vt., was with Allen at Ticonderoga and was the companion of Tyler in the adventure to secure boats for the expedition to cross Lake Champlain, and must have been with the expedition at Hand's Cove. (Smith's History of Addison County, page 393.)

* Wilkes West.—His tombstone at Chester, N. H., has this inscription: "Wilkes West, born in Beverly, Mass., December 6, 1735, died at Chester, N. H., April 10, 1830, aged 94 years, four months, four days. He took part in the battle of Bennington and was with Col. Ethan Allen at the taking of Fort Ticonderoga, New

York. This tablet was erected by his grandson, Henry Mason West, 1886." Inscriptions on tombstones, like those in family Bibles, we are bound to believe are entitled to credence. (Statement of E. W. Sherman, Poultney, Vermont.)

x Captain Samuel Wright, probably from Pownal, Vermont, seems to have been captain of a company that participated in this expedition. (Application of Josiah Dunning for Pension.)

* Samuel Woolcott of Shoreham, Vt., came from Goshen, Conn., settled in Shoreham, 1773. Entered the fort with Allen. (History of Shoreham, page 12.)

* Samuel Woolcott, Jr., son of the preceding, of Shoreham, Vt., also entered the fort with Allen.

THE RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga.

Seth Warner captured Crown Point.

Captain Samuel Herrick captured Skenesborough.

[Bernard Romans] captured the fort at the head of Lake George.

Benedict Arnold captured the British schooner on Lake Champlain and the garrison at St. Johns.

AT TICONDEROGA WERE TAKEN

120 Iron Cannon [from 6 to 24 pounds].

50 Swivels [of different sizes].

2 Ten-inch Mortars.

1 Howitzer.

1 Cohorn.

10 Tons of Musket Balls.

3 Cart Loads of Flints.

30 New Carriages.

A considerable quantity of Shells.

A warehouse full of material for boat building.

100 stands of Small Arms.

10 Casks of [very indifferent] powder.

2 Brass Cannon.

30 Barrels of Flour.

18 Barrels of Pork with Peas, Beans and other provisions. [See Stedman Amer. War, Vol. I. Page 131].

The prisoners were:

Capt. Delaplace.

Lieut. Feltham.

A Conductor of Artillery.

A Gunner.

Two Sergeants.

44 Privates—51 men in all [besides the women and children].

AT CROWN POINT WERE TAKEN

100 Pieces of Cannon.

A Sergeant and 12 Men.

Another account of the cannon captured by Col. Ethan Allen gives their number and weight as follows:

2 brass cohorns	weight, lbs.	300*
4 brass cohorns	weight, lbs.	400
2 brass mortars	weight, lbs.	600
1 iron mortar	weight, lbs.	600
2 iron mortars	weight, lbs.	3600
3 iron mortars	weight, lbs.	6900
8 brass cannon (3 pounders)	weight, lbs.	28000
3 brass cannon (6 pounders).	weight, lbs.	1800
1 brass cannon (18 pounder).	weight, lbs.	1200
1 brass cannon (24 pounder).	weight, lbs.	1800
6 iron cannon (6 pounders)	weight, lbs.	15000
4 iron cannon (9 pounders)	weight, lbs.	10000
10 iron cannon (12 pounders)	weight, lbs.	28000
7 double fortification cannon	weight, lbs.	28000
3 other cannon	weight, lbs.	15000

Also 2 iron howitzers.

Supplement New York in the Revolution, page 52. J. A. H.

[May 19, Benedict Arnold writing to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety gives a list of the cannon, etc., taken at Crown Point amounting to 111 pieces, also the guns, carriages, etc., sur-

* A cohorn or coehorn is defined as a small howitzer or mortar about 4.6 inches in caliber, usually carried by men or on small boats.

rendered at Ticonderoga, which gives a better idea of their condition than the one just quoted. Force's Arch., 4th Series, Vol. II, page 646.

A LIST OF CANNON, &c., TAKEN AT TICONDEROGA.

3 18-pounders, good.
 2 French-pounders, bad.
 2 12-pounders, good.
 6 12-pounders, double fortified,
 good.
 2 12-pounders, useless.
 12 9-pounders, good.
 5 9-pounders, bad.
 18 6-pounders, bad.
 9 4-pounders, good.
 16-pounder, good.
 19 swivels, good.
 2 wall pieces, good.
 2 French 12-pounders, bad.
 1 13-inch mortar and bed, good.
 1 7-inch mortar and bed, good.
 1 7-inch howitzer, good.
 —
 86
 28 iron truck wheels.
 10 carriages, fit for use.

N. B.—I shall send to Cambridge the 24-pounders, 12 and 6-pounders, howitzers, &c., as directed by Colonel Gridley. Four brass howitzers in the edge of the lake, and covered with water, cannot come at present. J. A. H.]

ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN WAS TAKEN

1 schooner and a sergeant and 12 men at St. Johns.

AT THE HEAD OF LAKE GEORGE.

One man and one woman [and possibly two male helpers], the sole garrison were taken prisoners.

AT SKENESBOROUGH, NOW WHITEHALL.

[Major Skene's son Phillip and his sisters were taken prisoners.

A store house and contents were captured, also a schooner and a number of flat boats].

The persons captured at Ticonderoga were taken to Connecticut under charge of Amos Callendar. The cannon were the next winter removed to Boston by means of teams. [This service was performed under direction of Col., afterwards Major General Henry Knox, whose idea it was. He reached Ticonderoga from Boston (by way of New York and the Hudson) Dec. 5. Assisted by General Phillip Schuyler, after much hardship and suffering and a perilous trip through Lake George he reached camp with the cannon and stores January 24, 1776. On the shores of Lake George, Col. Knox met the gallant but unfortunate Andre,' whose later connection with Arnold thus links him to the history of "Ti." (Life of Gen. Henry Knox, page 23). A most interesting account of the removal of the cannon will also be found in the Sexagenary, pp. 26 to 37. J. A. H.]

ANECDOTES OF ETHAN ALLEN.

Collected by R. O. BASCOM.

The following anecdotes are related of Ethan Allen as illustrating his character and originality:

In 1770 he was the Agent of the Hampshire Grants to represent them in certain litigations at Albany, concerning the title of lands in Vermont. All of the evidence offered by Allen showing title to the lands from the Governor of New Hampshire was simply excluded, and the verdict, of course, was against the settlers. After the court had adjourned, some gentlemen interested on behalf of the New York titles, called on Allen at the hotel, and urged him to make the best terms he could with his adversaries. Allen replied that "The Gods in the valleys are not the Gods of the hills." When urged to explain what he meant by this, he said, "Come to Holy hill at Bennington and I will show you."

As is well known, Allen was captured and taken as a prisoner to England. During his captivity he was subjected to great indignities; he held Sir William Howe and James Loring, a Tory, the Commissioner having charge of the prisoners, as responsible for his ill treatment, and said of them that they were "The most mean spirited, cowardly, deceitful animals in God's creation below, and legions of infernal devils with all of their tremendous horrors are impatiently ready to receive Howe and him with all their detestable accomplices into the most exquisite agonies of holy fire."

Having been offered a position in the military service of Great Britain, together with a large grant of land, if he would desert the cause of the Colonists, Allen said, "I view the offer of land to be similar to that which the devil offered our Saviour to give him all kingdoms of the world; to fall down and worship him when the poor devil had not one foot of land on earth." In a letter to a friend he said, "I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont as Congress is that of the United States, and rather than fail, will retire with my hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains and wage war with human nature at large."

When Allen was on his way to the Continental Congress shortly after the capture of Ticonderoga, he attended a church service at Bennington where the Rev. [Jedediah] Dewey preached a sermon on the "Capture of Ticonderoga," and in his prayer, Mr. Dewey poured forth his thanks to the Lord for having delivered the possession of this fortress into the hands of the people. In the midst of the prayer, Allen cried out, "Parson Dewey!" the interruption was not heeded, when Allen again exclaimed, "Parson Dewey!" still the clergyman continues his prayer when Allen, springing to his feet, called out in a voice of thunder, "Parson Dewey!" the clergyman stopped and opened his eyes with astonishment, when Allen said, "Parson Dewey, please make mention of my being there." [While a student at Williams, the editor remembers the late Prof. A. L. Perry, professor of History, relating this incident, with the addendum that Parson Dewey was not afraid of man, beast nor devil, and called out to Col. Allen, "Sit

down Ethan Allen, when I want you I will call upon you," and Allen sat down. J. A. II.]

In 1782 there were some defections in the town of Guilford, and the Committee of Safety sent Allen there to subdue the rebellion. He walked into the town on foot and issued his famous proclamation in which he said that "Unless the inhabitants peacefully submitted to the authority of the State of Vermont, he would lay the town of Guilford as desolate as Sodom and Gomorrah, by God!" The proclamation was all that was necessary to insure the establishment of order in that community.

On one occasion having sued upon a note, he employed a lawyer in order to gain time, and his attorney, with that end in view, denied the genuineness of Allen's signature to the note. Allen arose in court and said, "Sir, I did not employ you to come here and lie! The note is a good one and the signature is mine; all I want is to the court to grant me sufficient time to pay it." [A compromise was speedily effected].

Being engaged in a theological controversy in relation to the theory of the Universalists, someone said, "That religion will suit you will it not, General?" The man who made this remark was a Tory, and Allen retorted, "No, no, there must be a hell in the other world for the punishment of Tories."

The inscription upon Allen's tomb-stone at Winoskie is as follows:

The
Corporeal Part
of
Gen. Ethan Allen
rests beneath this stone.
He died
the 12th day of February, 1789,
aged 50 years.
His spirit tried the mercies of his God,
In whom he believed and strongly trusted.

ADDITIONS AND NOTES TO "R. O. BASCOM'S ETHAN ALLEN'S MEN."

By JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN.

In looking up other historical data this winter, the writer had been impressed with the number of soldiers engaged in the Revolutionary War, who had settled in this northern section of the State and its close neighbor Vermont, which after all is a child of the flesh and bone of the bone of this big commonwealth.

In going through nearly five hundred volumes, pamphlets, magazines and newspapers, I naturally ran upon a number of names intimately connected with the Capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys in 1775. Those "outlaws" whose resistless spirit had not so long before carved the coming colony of Vermont bodily from the northern part of New York. Starting to mark these names as they appeared first out of curiosity, and continuing as a labor of respect, I found there were but a few to add to the list made by our revered late Secretary, Robert O. Bascom.*

The work he did on this record was a monumental one, as the writer can testify from following in his footsteps, even though along another line of historical endeavor. So thoroughly has he done his task, and so painstaking have been his researches, that there are but a sparse handful of names to be added, but still, there are a few, which are herewith submitted, to still further perfect the imperfect records of the "Great Expedition" of that day. From the historian's standpoint, it seems a pity that great egotist and erratic genius though he was, Ethan Allen could not have inserted in his memoirs, in place of so much uninteresting and bombastic stuff, the names of the noble eighty-three who so bravely volunteered to go into the fort with him, and thus have preserved forever in the pages of history, the real heroes of that eventful May 10th, 1775.

* For valuable and rare books and pamphlets loaned and for other information and aid extended, the writer desires to thank the New York State Library; Williams College Library; Crandall Free Library, of Glens Falls; A. S. Clark, Peekskill; W. J. Wilder and George W. Yates (a former Bennington resident), of Saratoga Springs; A. C. Bates, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford, Conn.; E. M. Goddard, Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, of Montpelier, Vt. J. A. H.

It is further to be regretted that the faithful and invaluable local historians of the New Hampshire grants and Northern New York of half a century and more ago, who have preserved in imperishable print deeds and events of the younger years of our republic, did not do their work a little more carefully. For instance, in a great many cases the record will read, "John Smith, a veteran of the Revolution, moved here such a date." Would the writer had taken a little more time to state in what company, regiment and year "John Smith" served.

Among the names which follow are a few which may have no direct connection with the capture of Ticonderoga. But as it was the proud boast and name of honor of many in the Great Rebellion of 1861-65, that they fought "mit Sigel", so those who in any capacity or at any time were with Allen on this expedition, are entitled to honorable mention, as participants in an event that changed the destinies of a nation.

There are few historical events about which so many contradictory reports have been written, as the so-called Capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen. The historian who would sift out the grain of truth from the heaped-up chaff of inconsistency, perversion of the records, personal bias of the participants and one-sided statements of the historians of the affected colonies and later states, has no enviable task. Before me lies Ethan Allen's narrative as published in the Pennsylvania Packet or General Advertiser, beginning with November 9, 1779, written at Bennington four years after the event. He claims he "arrived at the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, on the evening of the ninth day of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys." In most histories this number is stated as "two hundred and seventy, all of whom but forty (or forty-six) are Green Mountain Boys." A comparison of these figures with the letters written to the legislative assemblies of New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, which appear in Vol. II (Fourth Series) of Force's Archives, shows a remarkable discrepancy in numbers. For instance:—Allen to the Massachusetts Congress, May

11th, says, "The soldiery was composed of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys, and near fifty veteran soldiers from the Province of Massachusetts Bay," (page 556.) Arnold says, same date, "I found one hundred and fifty men collected at the instance of some gentlemen from Connecticut headed by Colonel Ethan Allen," (page 557.) Under date of May 10th, Easton, Bull, Mott and Phelps write the Massachusetts Congress "that the Committee had the assistance of seventy men from the Massachusetts and one hundred and forty from the New Hampshire grants." On May 11th, Allen notified the Albany Committee, "that pursuant to his directions from sundry leading gentlemen from Massachusetts and Connecticut, I took the fortress of Ticonderoga, with about one hundred and thirty Green Mountain Boys." Colonel Easton with about forty-seven valiant soldiers, distinguished themselves in the action (page 606.) On May 20th, John Brown informed the General Congress at Philadelphia that a company of about fifty men from Connecticut and the western part of Massachusetts, and joined by upwards of one hundred from Bennington, in New York Government * * * invested the fort," (page 623). On May 18th, Colonel Easton before the Provincial Congress at Watertown, Mass., informs them that "last Tuesday sen-night about two hundred and forty men from Connecticut and this Province under Colonels Allen and Easton arrived at the lake near Ticonderoga; eighty of them crossed it, and came to the fort about the break of day," (page 624). On May 11th, Edward Mott wrote to the Massachusetts Congress a description of the attack on Ticonderoga. He states "that we collected to the number of sixteen men in Connecticut" * * * I set out with him to the Town of Jericho where Colonel Easton raised between forty and fifty men and proceeded to Bennington. * * * It was concluded and voted * * * that a party of thirty men under command of Captain Herriek should on the next day in the afternoon proceed to Skenesborough * * * and in the night [we] proceed up the lake to Shoreham * * * with the remainder of our men which was about one hundred and forty," (page 558). Under date of May 24th, to the General Assembly of Connecticut, Capt. William Delaplace, English commander of the

fort when captured, petitioned the Assembly and stated that on the morning of the 10th of May, the garrison of the Fortress of Ticonderoga and Province of New York was surprised by a party of armed men under the command of one Ethan Allen consisting of one hundred and fifty," (page 698).

There are a number of other citations but the foregoing should suffice to show, that excluding the thirty men sent to Skenesborough, the entire number under command of Allen, Warner and Easton did not exceed one hundred and fifty, or out of a total number of one hundred and eighty, which includes Colonel Arnold and his attendant, only about one hundred and twenty-five could be classed by any possibility as "Green Mountain Boys." For Easton and Mott "raised twenty-four in Jericho and fifteen in Williamstown" (Journal of Edward Mott—Collections Connecticut Historical Society, Vol. I, 1868). This thirty-nine added to the sixteen Connecticut men who participated, and Messrs. Easton and Brown would make fifty-seven, leaving one hundred and twenty-three to be accounted for from the Hampshire Grants. It was only a few days however before the fifty men raised by Colonel Arnold in Massachusetts appeared, and from that time until Col. Hinman took charge with his Connecticut regiment, men were constantly coming and going. It is therefore very plain that the number of men who served on this expedition, at its inception, has been greatly exaggerated by later historians, misled by Allen's exceedingly one-sided narrative.

THE ADDITIONAL LIST.

Remember Baker, the gallant young soldier of Arlington, Vt., who gave his life for his country at St. Johns a few months later, and who was one of the captains of the Green Mountain Boys, had been instructed to co-operate from his position at Otter Creek. This he did by intercepting two despatch boats sent from Crown Point with intelligence of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. Thus preventing the British authorities from getting premature information. Warner's reduction of Crown Point, Herriek's Capture of Skenesborough, Arnold's taking of the sloop, and Baker's in-

terception of the messengers, all added to the success of the enterprise. And entitled them to a place on the roll of distinction for meritorious service on this occasion. (Watson's History Essex County, Chap. IX, page 136, etc).

Chapman.—Zadock Thompson says in his History of Vermont, (Edition 1842, part 2, page 33), that Douglass on his way to Bridport for boats, stopped to see a Mr. Chapman to enlist him in the enterprise. It is possible Chapman joined the party, as he was bound to do by the rules of the Green Mountain Boys. It was the boat belonging to Major Skene, acquired by this visit, that allowed Allen to consummate his capture of the Fort, so Chapman deserves mention as a cause, even if we cannot prove he was present. In Chittenden's Address, he says Capt. Douglass stopped at the home of Mr. Stone in Bridport to get Chapman's assistance. James Wilcox and Joseph Tyler who were in bed, dressed and armed with their guns and a jug of "New England" (all potent weapons at close range) took the boat in question. (Capture of Ticonderoga, Hon. L. E. Chittenden, pp. 39-40).

Zebna Day of Wilton, Saratoga County, N. Y., is buried at Emerson's Corners in that County. On his tombstone appears the following: "Zebna Day, whose name in early life was enrolled among the Green Mountain Boys, died April 7, 1844, aged 87." (History of Saratoga County, N. Y. By Nathaniel B. Sylvester, 1878, page 469). There is only a slight probability this soldier was present.

Preston Denton, born May, 1755, came to Saratoga from Dutchess County early in May, 1775 to join an independent company of militia in the town of Stillwater, they being the first troops that went from the frontier to New York to fight the enemy at the north. Later he was with a company under Col. Ethan Allen when they were captured by the British and sent to England. (History of Saratoga County, N. Y. The Saratogian Edition 1890, Appendix, page 27).

Zadock Everest, a brother of Benjamin Everest (see Bascom's list), accredited in the Vermont Historical Magazine to Addison, was one of the Green Mountain Boys at the skirmish with

New York authorities at Vergennes in 1773. (Vermont Magazine, page 11). He was very likely on this trip to Ticonderoga also, as we find his name attached to the so-called Benedict Arnold's Declaration which, dated June 15th, 1775, antedated the one at Philadelphia by more than a year. It is signed by 31 persons, many of whose name-sakes still occupy the Champlain Valley. In the list is William Gilliland the pioneer of the Valley. (Mag. of American History, Barnes & Co., Feb., 1882, page 130).

Asa Eddy is coupled with Elias Herrick of Bascom's list, in Capt. Mott's Account of his Expenses rendered to Colony of Connecticut May 1, 1775. "To cash furnished Elias Herrick for his and Asa Eddy's expenses, 1 pound 4 shillings." (Collections Conn. Hist. Society, vol. I, page 173).

Enos Flanders, Sheffield, was one of the men present at the taking of Ticonderoga. (Proceedings Vermont Historical Society, 1903-04, pp. 97-98).

William Gilliland, of Willsborough, N. Y., the pioneer of the Champlain Valley, according to a tradition in his family, had a prominent part in this momentous enterprise. (Watson's Pioneers Champlain Valley, pp. 47-48). He claims to have been the originator of the expedition against Ticonderoga. (Id. 174-175).

James Jones, afterward major, of the Town of Berlin, N. Y., "was at Ticonderoga. Col. Ethan Allen, Commander, and one of the garrison after Allen left. (This was in 1775)." He died in his 50th year, and was buried at North Stephentown, N. Y., in 1803. (History Rensselaer Co., N. Y., by N. B. Sylvester, 1880, page 509).

Samuel Laughton of Dummerston, was with Allen according to an article by Walter H. Crockett, published in the Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for 1903-04 (pp. 97-98). A letter received from E. M. Goddard, Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, under date of March 23rd, this year, states that Mr. Crockett, at the time he prepared the list in question, was satisfied that the men named were part of Allen's band.

Eliphalet Loud of Weymouth, Mass., one of the most important men of his day in his town, was a soldier on the occasion

of the taking of Ticonderoga. ("Nash" in Magazine of American History, Mrs. Lamb, March, 1886, page 311).

Judah Moffet, from Brimfield, Mass., who married Nancy Hancock, niece of Gov. John Hancock, "was with the detachment of soldiers under Ethan Allen who surprised Ticonderoga in 1775." He served in the Battle of Saratoga in 1777 and at Siege of Yorktown in 1781. He died in 1852, aged 92 years, at his home in the shadow of the mountains near Rupert, Vt. (History Pawlet, Vt., by Hiel Hollister, page 216).

Nathaniel Parker came from Connecticut. He was in the Revolutionary Army, and was with Ethan Allen at the Capture of Ticonderoga. Settled in Middle Granville, Washington County, N. Y., on the Poultney road during the Revolution (about 1777?). He was in attack on Quebec under Montgomery. (History Washington County, N. Y., by Crisfield Johnson, 1878, page 198).

James Rogers of Hebron, N. Y., was one of the party which captured Skenesborough under Capt. Herrick, in 1775. This was the time when, as related in legendary history, the soldiers found the body of Mrs. Skene, which had been preserved for many years, in order to keep alive a legal bequest made to her from which her husband derived an income, so long as she was "above ground." Local tradition adds that the coffin was lead and that the soldiers buried the body in a suitable wooden casket and used the old one for bullets. (Crisfield Johnson's Washington County, page 399).

James Sargeant was born at sea in 1751. His early life was spent at Williamstown, Mass. Married, 1770, Ann Horton of Londonderry, Vt. "Went with Allen to 'Ti' and witnessed the capture of that Fortress in 1775." Was stationed at Fort Edward, N. Y., during the Revolutionary War; shared in the affairs on the North River. Was one of a number detached to act as a guard for Andre on his way to execution. Had five sons, one of whom, James, Jr., was born in "Ti," May 20, 1809. In 1819 Sargeant located in Pittsford, Vt., living there off and on till 1869, when he died. (History Pittsford, Vt. By A. M. Caverly, pp. 351-352-409). The year of death given by Mr. Caverly is obviously a mistake. It must have been 1829 or '39, but not 1869.

Colonel Gideon Warren, Veteran of the Revolutionary War, of Hampton, Washington County, N. Y., was at Ticonderoga with Ethan Allen. He received a wound in his elbow probably at the futile attack on St. Johns, which thereafter bothered him somewhat during his life. He probably enlisted from Williamstown, Mass., as he removed thence to Hampton with his family, about the time of the Revolution. Caleb, his first son, was also a soldier in the Revolution. He married Rachael Webster, and they had fourteen children, all of whom grew up. One of them was named Ethan, after Ethan Allen. Captain Warren was one of the original Captains of the Green Mountain Boys (Moore's *Memoirs of Ethan Allen*, page 17). He settled in the south part of the town, where he built a comfortable house on his 500 acres, a part of which is now included in Hampton's Corners. (Hermit of Mt. Ida, in *Troy Northern Budget* about 1885. See also Prof. Perry's *Origins in Williamstown*, page 615, for more details about Gideon Warren).

Ashbel Welles (whose team carried the baggage, etc., of the party from Hartford), is included in list of names in note to *Journal of Edward Mott*. (*Collections Conn. Hist. Society*, Vol I, page 167).

Captain Asaph White, formerly of Charlemont, Mass., the grandfather of Joseph White, who for many years was Treasurer of Williams College (and who was accustomed to tell the story), was at Ticonderoga as a soldier and saw some of the unseemly disputes between Arnold and Allen. Captain White used to tell his grandson in his boyhood that Allen was no match for Arnold in these contests. "He hadn't got no grit, Jo." (A. L. Perry's *Williamstown, and Williams College*, 1899, page 28). This is the first criticism of Allen's valor that I have ever seen. It might well be true however, that Arnold made it unpleasant even for the redoubtable Allen, for, no matter how men a little later regarded Arnold the traitor, there never was any doubt or aspersion cast upon his reputation for bravery as a soldier. Through the courtesy of J. A. Lowe of the Williams College Library, we have the following information:

“Col. Jonathan White held commission of Major and Lt. Col. in Ruggles’ regiment of the “New Levies” and was at the Battle of Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755. (This was the great grandfather of Joseph White). “Col. Jonathan White’s Lake George sword passed to his son, Col. Asaph White, and then to *his* son, Capt. Joseph White, and finally to *his* son, Mr. Joseph White, who having no children presented it to the college.” Guilielmensien, Class 1892, p. 13.” This sword is now in the College Library.

Col. Arnold’s attendant whose name, so far has never been discovered, must have been present at the taking of the Fort. Chittenden (page 39), in speaking of Arnold, makes this sarcastic allusion: “He is ‘attended’ by a servant—of the genus valet de chambre—the only one in that camp, the first recorded appearance of the species in Vermont.”

On June 10th a petition was prepared for the Continental Congress then in session at Philadelphia. It was dated from Crown Point, and signed by the following names: Colonel Ethan Allen; Major Samuel Elmore of the Connecticut Farms; Colonel James Easton of Pittsfield; Captain Seth Warner; Captain Hezekiah Balding; Captain Ebenezer Marvin; Captain Remember Baker; Captain George White; Captain James Noble, commandant at this place; Captain Amos Chapple; Captain Wait Hopkins; Captain Joseph McCracken; Captain John Grand Captain Barnabas Barnum; Captain James Wills; Lieutenant Ira Allen; Lieutenant Oliver Parmerly; Isaac Hitchcock, commissary; Stephen Bay, clerk of Major Elmore. How many of these men were in the original expedition aside from those we have is not known. The men we already know about are the two Allens, Easton, Warner and Baker.

The names of Wait Hopkins and John Grant (or Grand) as Captains, and Barnabas Barnum and Ira Allen as First Lieutenants; John or Johan (James?) Noble as Second Lieutenant are found in the list of officers selected at the Vermont Assembly or convention held July 27th. (History Vermont, Hall, pp. 211-212. See also Calendar of N. Y. Hist. Mss. Vol. I, pp. 109-110).

A Hezekiah Baldwin (Balding?) was appointed a captain by N. Y. Provincial Congress June 29, 1775, from Albany County.

On the same date Joseph McCracken, Charlotte County, was warranted as a captain. (N. Y. Hist., Mss. Vol. I, pp. 105-106. Vol. II, pp. 33-37). The name Balding was also common to Cumberland County, now part of Vermont (New York in The Revolution, page 134. Archives N. Y., Vol. I, page 276).

Ebenezer Marvin appears as chairman of the Saratoga, N. Y., Committee in 1776. (N. Y. Hist. Mss. Vol. I, page 236). The writer has been informed he was in command of an independent company raised in Stillwater about the time of the Allen expedition, but has not yet verified the claim.

George White appears as captain under Lieut. Colonel Robert Cochran, together with Capt. Hezekiah Baldwin in the 2nd Regiment of the line. (New York in the Revolution, page 29). Robert Cochran was one of Allen's right hand men.

The names of Chapple, Wills, Parmerly, Hitchcock and Bay we have not had an opportunity to trace out. The hunt after these names has been a most interesting one but time and opportunity are lacking to follow it further.

SOME ADDITIONAL ANECDOTES AND DATA CONCERNING ETHAN ALLEN.

Edited by JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN.

While many anecdotes have been related about Ethan Allen the majority of which are more or less fictitious, and a number of which may be found either in Hugh Moore's Memoir of Col. Ethan Allen published in 1834, or in Henry W. DePuy's "Mountain Hero and His Associates," or "Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys" as it is variously known, the following preserved in an old scrap book of the late A. W. Holden, and published some time in the 50's, are somewhat different from those usually given as characteristic of the man.

While discussing religion with one of the village pastors to whom he was extending hospitality at his supper table, the minister enquired how it happened that Allen had never joined any

church. Allen replied, "He had often thought about the matter, and after mentally deciding one day to take that step, he had a dream that same night which had caused him to give it up."

"And," exclaimed the minister, "what did you dream?"

"Well, I thought I was standing at the entrance of Paradise, and saw a man go up and knock."

"Who's that?" asked a voice from within.

"A friend wishing admittance," was the reply.

The door was opened and the keeper stepped out.

"Well, sir, what denomination did you belong to down yonder?"

"I was an Episcopalian, replied the candidate for admission."

"Go in, then, and take a seat near the door on the east side."

Just then another stepped up; he was a Presbyterian, and the guardian directed him to a seat. A large number were admitted and received directions where to seat themselves.

I then stepped to the entrance.

"Well, sir, who are you?" asked the guardian.

"I am neither High Churchman, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic or Jew, but I am the same Ethan Allen that you have probably heard from down below."

"What, the same man who took Ticonderoga?"

"The same," I replied.

"All right, Ethan," said he, "just step in and SIT DOWN WHERE YOU PLEASE."

An instance is related of Ethan Allen, that is said to have occurred while he was on his way to England. While closely confined to his room, he discovered one day that a pin or wire that fastened one of his hand-cuffs was broken. Extricating the pieces with his teeth, he was enabled so to loosen the bolt that it also was soon withdrawn, and one hand was set at liberty; he then proceeded to release the other, and was successful. This having been accomplished, he was not long in liberating his feet. Fearing, however, lest the Captain should discover his situation, and contract the "area of his freedom," he carefully replaced the bolts and pins before the arrival of the keeper. In a short time it became a fine recreation for the Colonel to take off and put on his chains at pleasure.

One day the Captain wishing to afford some merriment to the crew, commanded Allen to be brought upon deck. Hoping to frighten him, the Captain said:

"There is a possibility that the ship will founder—if so, what will become of us, especially you, Mr. Allen, a rebel against the king?"

"Why", said Allen, "that would be very much like our dinner hour."

"How so?" said the Captain, not reflecting that Allen was only allowed to come on deck while he himself went down into his cabin to dine.

"Well, you see", answered Allen, "I'd be on my way up just as you would be going down."

The Captain was not at all pleased with this reply, and commenced a regular tirade of abuse against the American people. "In a short time," said the Captain, "all the rebels will be in the same situation as yourself."

This was too much for Allen, and he determined to apply his newly acquired dexterity in unloosening his fetters to some purpose. Quickly raising his hands to his mouth, he apparently snapped asunder the pins and bolts, and hurling his hand-cuffs and fetters overboard—seized the astonished Captain by the collar, and threw him headlong upon the deck, then turning to the affrightened crew, he exclaimed in a voice of thunder: "If I am insulted again during the voyage, I'll sink the ship and swim ashore." This exploit so terrified the Captain and crew, that Allen was allowed to do pretty much as he pleased the remainder of the voyage.

In Moore's *Memoirs* (page 113), Allen relates this incident in a little different form: "To give an instance, upon being insulted, in a fit of anger, I twisted off a nail with my teeth, which I took to be a ten-penny nail; it went through the mortice of the bar of my hand-cuff, and at the same time, I swaggered over those who abused me; particularly a Doctor Dace, who told me that I was outlawed by New York, and deserved death for several years past; was at last fully ripened for the halter, and in a fair way to obtain it. When I challenged him, he excused himself in conse-

quence, as he said, of my being a criminal; but I flung such a flood of language at him, that it shocked him and the spectators, for my anger was very great. I heard one say, "damn him, can he eat iron?" After that a small padlock was fixed to the handcuff, instead of the nail; and as they were mean spirited in their treatment of me, so it appeared to me, that they were equally timorous and cowardly."

The "Romance of the Revolution" (page 330), speaking of Allen after he was taken prisoner at Montreal, says:

"At the expiration of six weeks, he was removed to a vessel off Quebec, where he received kind and courteous treatment. Here he remained until his removal on board the vessel which was to carry him to England. Here all of the prisoners, thirty-four, were thrust into a small apartment, each heavily ironed. They were compelled during the whole voyage to remain in their confinement, and were subjected to every indignity that cruelty could invent."

When first ordered to enter into their filthy apartment, Allen refused, and endeavored to argue their brutal keeper out of his inhuman purpose, but all in vain. The reply to his appeal was insults of the grossest kind, and an officer of the vessel insulting him by spitting in his face, handcuffed as he was, the intrepid American sprang upon the dastard, and knocked him at length upon the floor. The fellow hastily scrambled out of the reach of Allen, and placed himself under the protection of the guard. Allen challenged him to fight, offering to meet him even with irons upon his wrists, but the Briton, trembling with fear, contented himself with the protection afforded him by British bayonets, and did not venture to oppose the intrepid Americans. The prisoners were now forced into their den at the point of the bayonet. The sufferings of the captives during the voyage were intense. Their privations soon brought on diarrhœa and fevers. But notwithstanding their sickness, they received no attention from their jailors, and even those who were crazed with raging thirst, were denied the simple boon of fresh water."

Most readers of history, especially in New York and Vermont, are familiar with the story of Allen while living at Tinmouth, Vt.

"A lady came to the village physician to have a tooth extracted, while Allen was present. Finally becoming disgusted, with her lack of courage, Allen said to the physician, "take out one of my teeth." But—"Your teeth are all sound," said the physician, after an examination. "Never mind, do as I direct you," said Allen, and there was suddenly a gap in his array of ivory. "Now take courage, madam, from the example I have given you," said Allen to the trembling lady. Pride overcame her fears, and she was soon relieved of her apprehensions of pain, and of her tooth also. (DePuy, page 393).

Levi Allen, brother of Ethan, became a Tory, although he afterwards recanted. He sent a challenge to his brother Ethan, on account of some alleged wrong done him by Colonel Allen, who refused to fight him on the ground that it would "be disgraceful to fight a Tory."

Colonel Allen's first wife was from Connecticut, where she died. "His courtship of his second wife was characteristic. During a session of the court at Westminster, Allen appeared with a magnificent pair of black horses and a black driver. Chief Justice Robinson and Stephen R. Bradley, an eminent lawyer, were there, and as their breakfast was on the table, they asked Allen to join them. He replied that he had breakfasted, and while they were at the table, he would go in and see Mrs. Buchanan, a handsome widow who was at the house. He entered the sitting-room, and at once said to Mrs. Buchanan, "Well, Fanny, if we are to be married let us be about it." "Very well," she promptly replied, "give me time to fix up." In a few minutes she was ready, and Judge Robinson was at once called upon by them to perform the customary ceremony. Said Allen, "Judge, Mrs. Buchanan and I have concluded to be married; I don't care much about the ceremony, and as near as I can find out, Fanny cares as little for it as I do; but as a decent respect for the customs of society require it of us, we are willing to have the ceremony performed." The gentlemen present were much surprised, and Judge Robinson replied, "General Allen, this is an important matter; have you thought seriously of it?" "Yes, Yes," exclaimed Allen, looking at Mrs. Buchanan, "but it don't require much thought." Judge Robinson

then rose from his seat and said, "Join your hands together. Ethan Allen, you take this woman to be your lawful and wedded wife; you promise to love and protect her according to the law of God and—" "Stop, stop, Judge. The law of God," said Allen, looking forth upon the fields, "all nature is full of it. Yes, go on. My team is at the door." As soon as the ceremony was ended, General Allen and his bride entered his carriage and drove off." (DePuy, page 426).

A somewhat recent pamphleteer in recounting the following incident in Allen's life has drawn certain conclusions. To those of the Illuminati, who have seen the true and only light in the East, Allen's remark will have a deeper, far more significant meaning. This and his alleged allusions to the Great Jehovah, would show that sometime and somewhere Ethan Allen had trodden the same paths and seen the same light as some of his less prominent brethren. This writer, Robert Dewey Benedict, of Brooklyn, says:

"When he was taken prisoner at Montreal he was brought before the English General Prescott. Allen's narrative tells us: "He asked me my name, which I told him. He then asked me whether I was that Col. Allen who took Ticonderoga. I told him I was the very man. Then he shook his cane over my head, calling me many hard names, among which he frequently used the word rebel. * * * * I told him he would do well not to cane me, for I was not accustomed to it, and shook my fist at him, telling him that was the BEETLE OF MORTALITY for him if he offered to strike." The Englishman probably had seen enough logs split with a beetle and wedges, to recognize the appropriateness of the figure of a beetle as descriptive of Allen's heavy fist; and when it was described as a "beetle of mortality" he recognized that it was a weapon which he would do well not to meet." (Extract from Benedict's *Ethan Allen's Use of Language*, in *William Abbott's Magazine of History* for March, 1905).

Ethan Allen had peculiar religious ideas. In Benedict's article referred to above, he says on the authority of Lieut. Col. Graham, who came to live in Rutland in 1785, "I have often heard General Allen affirm that he should live again under the form of

a large white horse." As there may be some, even at this late day, who would like to know where Allen went or was supposed to go by some of his contemporaries to prepare for his transmigration, the following epitaph from one of the strictest of his sect in those days may be illuminating.

The Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, then president of Yale College, known as "an inveterate chronicler" who kept notes and data on all subjects that he thought might be of interest to posterity, wrote in his diary under date of Feb. 13th, 1789, "General Ethan Allen of Vermont died and went to Hell this day." (Foot Note—Ames' Almanack, edited by Sam Briggs, page 343).

There were six sons born to Joseph Allen of Litchfield, Conn., and his wife as follows: General Ethan, Capt. Heman, Major Heber, Lieut. Levi, Zimri, and Col. Ira, all of whom were more or less connected with the early history of Vermont and the Revolution. Of all the brothers Ethan and Ira, the oldest and the youngest were the most celebrated, and capable. If Ethan Allen was the lion of the family, Ira was the fox, carrying his points by finesse rather than by brute force.

Thompson in his Memoir of Ira Allen (Vermont Hist. Society, 1908-1909, pp. 114-119), tells how Ira challenged Ethan for a trip through the woods in which Ira was an expert. Much to his surprise Ethan not only kept up with him, but by plunging ahead through swamp and thicket, swale and clearing, covered more ground than Ira, who by his familiarity with the woods was enabled to take short cuts not known to Ethan. Although both were played out at the end, "Ethan admitted he could claim no advantage and desired to call it a draw game," to which Ira gladly acquiesced.

Mr. Thompson goes on to say, "To plunge ahead, obstructions or no obstructions, and intent only on his straight-going purpose, was Ethan Allen all over; and thus to outgeneral his antagonist by this ingenious stratagem, was Ira Allen all over. We never heard of any one incident that better illustrated the different characteristics of the two brothers."

“Levi Allen was the equal of his brothers in talents, energy and bravery, but not in patriotism and judgment. He was eccentric and unstable—as “the rolling stone that gathers no moss”—and he therefore garnered no wealth of honor and renown as did they. From the first they seem to have doubted the character of Levi, since he was not a member of the great land company, and was afterward repudiated as a Tory. Of this an amusing piece of evidence is found in doggerel verses which come attributed, not without reason, to Levi Allen, as having been written when he was smarting under the loss of his property, which he charged to Ira, although Ethan entered the complaint. It shows that both Ethan and Ira regarded Levi as a great rogue, for which Levi took his revenge by counting Ira as the greatest rogue of the three. It is as follows:

THE THREE BROTHERS.

ETHAN.—	Old Ethan once said over a full bowl of grog, Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God; There is also a Devil—you will see him one day
IRA.—	In a whirlwind of fire take Levi away. Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear That you are inclined to banter and jeer; I think for myself and I freely declare Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air; If ever you see them engaged in affray, 'Tis our Levi who'll take the Devil away.
LEVI.—	Says Levi, your speeches make it perfectly clear That you both seem inclined to banter and jeer; Though through all the world my name stands enrolled For tricks sly and crafty, ingenious and bold, There is one consolation which none can deny That there's one greater rogue in this world than I.

ETHAN & IRA.—“Who’s that?” they both cry with equal surprise.

LEVI.— ‘Tis Ira! ’tis Ira! I yield him the prize.

(Records Council of Safety, Vermont, Vol. I, pp. 112-113. Levi’s dubious opinion of his family is also to be found in Dawson’s Historical Magazine for Feb’y, 1869, pp. 127-128).

HOW TICONDEROGA WAS CAPTURED.

The following extracts, give a somewhat different version of the Capture of Ticonderoga, from that ordinarily printed in the text books.

“The easy capture of this strong fortress at the beginning of the Revolutionary War by Colonel Ethan Allen has been one of the puzzles of historians, and many have been the attempts to account for the total surprise on the part of the officers of the garrison. The following tradition is one of the many, and may be as true as some of those credited by the scholars and writers.

Eliphalet Loud, Esq., one of the most important men of his day in this town, a man of unusual ability and education, was a soldier on that occasion, and a verbal tradition current in his family, says that, on the evening before the capture, the English and American officers were engaged in a social entertainment, at which the American officers, with the attempt in view, plied their English associates most plentifully with liquor, while they, knowing the necessity for cool heads, poured theirs down their bosoms, and the result was, what might be expected, a total surprise. The old gentleman always expressed the regret that these American officers must have felt at the WASTE of so much good liquor, but the success gratified it.” NASH. Weymouth, Massachusetts, 12 February, 1886. (Extract from Notes of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb’s Magazine of American History, March, 1886).

Corroborating the above legend to some extent is a reference I discovered in my father’s History of Queensbury which gave a clue that followed up disclosed the following, from the best English history of that period:

"Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the former situated at the north end of Lake George, and the latter near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, form the gates on that quarter of Canada. These posts had already been secured in the following manner: A volunteer, of the name of Ethan Allen, assembled of his own accord, about fifty men, and proceeded immediately to the environs of the first-mentioned fortress, commanded by Captain Delaplace of the Twenty-sixth regiment, who had under his command about sixty men. Allen, who had often been at Ticonderoga, observed a complete want of discipline in the garrison, and that they even carried their supine negligence to the length of never shutting the gates. Having disposed his small force in the woods, he went to Captain Delaplace, with whom he was well acquainted, and prevailed on him to lend him twenty men, for the pretended purpose of assisting him in transporting goods across the lake. These men he contrived to make drunk; and on the approach of night, drawing his own people from their ambuscade, he advanced to the garrison, of which he immediately made himself master. As there was not one person awake, though there was a sentry at the gate, they were all taken prisoners. On the commandant's asking Allen, by what authority he required him to surrender the fort, he answered, "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." The reduction of Crown Point which had neither guard nor garrison, became a matter of course. Allen also surprised Skenesborough, belonging to Major Skene, who with his son and negroes were taken prisoners. About the same time an American officer, afterwards highly distinguished, seized the only ship of the royal navy on Lake Champlain. Benedict Arnold at the commencement of the difference between Great Britain and America was placed at the head of a company of volunteers by the inhabitants of Newhaven." (Stedman's History of the American War, Vol. I, pp. 131-132, London, 1798). With this tradition current among both American and English soldiery of that day, there may be some foundation of truth for it. The biographers of Ethan Allen, show that like nearly every other man of that day, he was a hard drinker, and such a method of warfare could easily have appealed to him, or some of his command.

WHAT ETHAN ALLEN REALLY SAID AT TICONDEROGA.

The language said to have been employed by Ethan Allen in demanding the surrender of Ticonderoga, has always appeared to the writer on a par with that reported to have been used by George Washington on cutting down the famous cherry tree. However acceptable Ethan Allen's religious views might be today, which seems to be a period of fads, follies and freaks, in ecclesiastical notions, in those days he was considered to be an impious atheist by the staunch old Puritans of New England.

Four years after his capture, i. e., in 1779, he published his famous narrative from which fully 90 per cent of the accounts of the capture of Ticonderoga have been taken, even some of the historians practically of his own time unfortunately using it as a basis for their story of the exploit.

From an Address entitled "The Frauds of History," delivered by the late A. W. Holden, Feb. 20, 1885, we take the following:

"In one of the cemeteries of Burlington, Vermont, stands a colossal base surmounted by a colossal statute with its right hand raised perpendicularly toward heaven as if in the act of invocation. It is a statue erected to the memory of Ethan Allen, the patron saint of Vermont, and pictures to the eye that famous fiction and fraud in our history which is repeated over and over again in our school literature, as well as our larger histories. Ethan Allen it is well known was a rank infidel and unbeliever, and also one of the most profane and blasphemous braggarts and blusterers that then existed. He was the prototype of the cow-boy of the western prairies. As he had no reverence for Deity, it could be in no reverential sense, that he demanded the surrender of the fortress of Ticonderoga "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." And if it was an explosion of sheer blasphemy, is it not discreditable to glory in it, and teach our children such wanton profanity. But we shall presently see that this was a deliberate after thought. Hind sight is better than foresight. Allen, like John Smith, was his own biographer, and made the story to suit himself, so that to posterity the crown of glory, borne by angel wings, might be seen hovering over his sanctified head.

The first congress which convened at Carpenter's hall, Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, was variously designated Congress of Commissioners.

Convention of Commissioners.

Congress of the Colonies.

British and American Legislature.

This convention adopted an address to the people of Canada and another to the king, recommending the reassembling of the Congress on the 10th of May next, the very day on which Fort Ticonderoga was taken. Up to this time no outspoken voice had been made for separation from the mother country, no Continental Congress was known. It was not until the 4th of July, 1776, that the declaration of independence was promulgated to the world, and it was not until the 7th of June, 1776, that it was even proposed by the body which first called itself the Continental Congress, and which was represented by delegates from the thirteen colonies.

And thus we find that as the expression or term of Continental Congress was wholly unknown at the time of the Capture of Fort Ticonderoga, and Arnold who entered the breast works and citadel side by side with him says nothing about it; whatever Allen's relations may have been to the Great Jehovah it is fairly to be inferred that the interpolation of the Continental Congress was an after thought and after work." (See Judge Gibson's letter under head of Who took Fort George for his adverse opinion of Allen).

Albert Bushnell Hart, in his lately-published series "The American Nation," says "If Allen, as he later asserted, demanded its surrender 'in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,' he had no right to do so, for his commission was from Connecticut, and Congress when it assembled hesitated to approve of Connecticut placing a garrison in Ticonderoga or Crown Point, which surrendered at the same time to Seth. Warner, another famous Vermonter." (Vol. IX, Chap. III, pp. 40-41).

In his paper, "The Capture of Ticonderoga," Allen's great advocate, the Hon. L. E. Chittenden, quotes (on Page 46) from

Allen's State Gazette, Albany, N.Y. 1776. Allen the
captain was with July 13 1776

Goodhue's History of Shoreham, on the authority of Major Noah Callender, that Allen's language was "by the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" in place of "In the name of etc." To use the name of Jehovah as an oath instead of an adjuration, would seem to be more in Allen's vein of thought than the phrase he afterwards employed in his memoirs which were to appear in public, and regarding which he would have some pride in making the best self-appearance possible. Either out of respect for their readers, or because they did not want Allen's character to appear any worse than possible, the historiographers of Vermont, of New England, even of New York which had no reason then or now to love Ethan Allen, with but few exceptions have failed to give Allen's alleged real language (if the paradox may be allowed), which must have been current gossip in the early years of the last century in New England and New York.

On page 124 of Chittenden's address is found Washington Irving's account of the seizure of Ticonderoga, as given in his last, almost death bed work, *The Life of Washington*, published after years of preparation in 1855-59. Irving says: "The Commandant appeared at his door half dressed 'the frightened face of his pretty wife peering over his shoulder.' He gazed at Allen in bewildered astonishment. 'By whose authority do you act?' exclaimed he. 'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,' replied Allen, with a flourish of his sword, and *an oath we do not care to subjoin.*"

Dr. J. A. Spencer, who published a History of the United States in 1858, presents this situation in almost the same language as is quoted above, giving Allen's supposed exclamation and then goes on to say: "Ending the command (we are sorry to say), *with an oath following it.*" (Vol. I, page 354).

Dr. B. J. Lossing adds a little different touch to the drama by stating "Delaplace and Allen were old friends" and when the astonished captain exclaimed "By what authority do you demand the surrender?" Allen raised his sword and thundered out "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The Captain began to speak when Allen pointed to his men and told him to keep still and surrender immediately, which command

Delaplace was forced to obey. (Our History by B. J. Lossing, 1877, Vol. 2, pp. 798-799).

If Allen really uttered the words which impressed his name, and exploit, indelibly on the history of the country, as being one of its most notable events, it is very strange that arrogant, conceited, self-worshipper that his own narrative shows him to have been, he did not advise at once the various patriotic conventions and assemblies, which were in session at that time, as well as the Continental Congress, which began its first session on that same memorable May 10th, of the important message he had just delivered in the name of the American people.

A careful investigation of Peter Force's Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. II, fails to show that any mention ever was made by Allen, Arnold or Mott in their letters or reports, of any allusion to the Deity or the Continental Congress on the taking of the Fort.

On pages 624-625 is an account of the appearance of Col. Easton before the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Watertown. It is there stated, on the authority of Col. Easton that the "Invading forces gave three huzzahs, which brought out the gar-rison;" * * * * the commanding officer soon came forth; Col Easton clapped him on the shoulder, told him he was his prisoner, and demanded in the name of AMERICA an instant surrender of the fort, with all its forces, to the American Forces." The officer was in great confusion and expressed himself to this effect: "Damn you, what does all this mean?" In his memorial to the Connecticut Assembly however, Capt. Delaplace, who commanded the fort at this time, (Force, page 396), makes no mention of the language used on that occasion. The same authority says on pages 1085-1086 that a writer named "Veritas" brands as a falsehood Col. Easton's statement at the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. On page 1087 Capt. Delaplace likewise contradicts Col. Easton, saying he "never saw him at the time the fort was surprised, and had no conversation with him then nor at any other time."

It would seem as if had Col. Allen used the words attributed to him, they would have mentioned, as has been said before, some-

where in the official accounts of the action, rendered immediately to the colonies interested.*

Prof. A. L. Perry in his *History of Williamstown and Williams College*, came to the conclusion that Israel Harris, then of Williamstown, later of Rutland, and finally of South Hartford, Washington County, where he died Nov. 28, 1836, in his 90th year, was the author of the article signed "Veritas," referred to above. Harris always claimed that he was the third person to enter the fort after Allen and Arnold. Prof. Perry states on the authority of Prof. James Davie Butler, Wisconsin University, and the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Harris Noble, of Schaghticoke, N. Y., grandsons of Israel Harris, that "Allen's first exclamation when he reached the stairs that led to the apartment of Delaplace, the commandant, was, 'Get out of here, you damned old rat!' Later, when Delaplace appeared half dressed at his door and demanded the authority for such an astounding interruption, and Allen had time to sober down to realities, then he employed the famous phrase that has immortalized his name," (page 35).

In Larned's *History for Ready Reference* (page 3226), C. W. Elliot's *New England History* (N. Y., 1857, Scribner Edition), is quoted as the best account supposedly of the event. The excerpt is as follows: "Allen sought and found the Commander's bed-room, and when Captain Delaplace waked, he saw anything but an angel of mercy with white wings. Delaplace opened the door, with trowsers in hand, and there the great gaunt Ethan stood, with a drawn sword in his hand. 'Surrender,' said Ethan. 'To you,' asked Delaplace. 'Yes, to me, Ethan Allen.' 'By whose authority,' asked Delaplace. Ethan was growing impatient, and raising his voice and waving his sword, he said, 'In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, by God!'" (V. II, chap. 18. Compare also his announcement to residents of town of Guilford, Vt., in *Anecdotes*).

Putting together therefore the proverbial two and two we find that the language which would have been employed by Ethan Al-

* Those who desire to pursue this subject further are referred to the following pages, Fourth Series, Vol. II, of Force's Archives, which bear the most directly on the subjects under discussion: 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 584, 585, 605, 606, 618, 619, 623, 624, 625, 638, 639, 646, 698, 699, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 1085, 1086, 1087.

len on this occasion according to the best evidence at hand, and that which would be the most appropriate in Allen's mouth was: "Get out of here you damned old rat, and surrender." (Harris). "To you," asked Delaplace. "Yes, to me, Ethan Allen." (Elliott). To which Delaplace replied, "By what authority *do you* demand the surrender," (Lossing). Or by whose authority do you act, (Irving). In response to which Allen made his now memorable reply, "By the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, *by God.*" (Chittenden-Elliott).

Israel Harris, quoted above, claimed that Allen never used the expression usually and customarily attributed to him, and it is certain that none of his immediate contemporaries gave him credit for using it. But giving him the benefit of the doubt, it would seem as if it were now time to eliminate this blasphemous sentence from the annals of that day, and no longer allow it to stand as one of the shibboleths of the nation's early struggles for its liberty.

SOME HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS RELATING TO THE TICONDEROGA CAMPAIGN OF 1775.

EDITED BY JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN.

During the late sixties and early seventies of the nineteenth century, there sprang up what might have been termed an epidemic of local historical writing. This state was fortunate in having in the late Joel Munsell of Albany, a publisher so interested in history as to accept the manuscripts of local historians and publish them at his own risk. In this way were preserved some valuable records which would otherwise have been forever lost. Stirred by this patriotic example the ever ready and willing writers of history in New England were led to publish even more voluminously than in the forties and fifties their own historical data. It is **on account of the publication** of such local histories that the events and affairs of the French and Indian War, and the period of the Revolution, have been preserved to us in such minute detail.

As is to be expected in matters where local pride holds pre-eminence, the majority of these histories even when by writers of

national renown displayed, to the highest degree, a bias and prejudice which must be allowed for in the summing up the testimony for or against any disputed historical point. It would seem almost impossible to gather any new facts relative to Allen's Expedition against Fort Ticonderoga in 1775. Still going over some boxes of correspondence and Mss. belonging to the late Austin W. Holden of Glens Falls, the writer, this spring, discovered a number of interesting letters hitherto unpublished relating to this campaign. In those earlier days referred to my father was engaged in preparing the copy for his *History of Queensbury, N. Y.*, (subsequently published by Munsell in 1874), and was in correspondence and constant communication with the leading New York State historians such as William L. Stone, Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, B. F. DeCosta, Judge James Gibson and Dr. Asa Fitch of Salem, Judge William Hay of Saratoga, Dr. F. B. Hough, as well as Parkman, the Rev. Dr. W. I. Kipp, and many other prominent historical writers of that time.

It is with DeCosta, Hay and O'Callaghan however that the series of letters to be presented here is more expressly concerned. During the period covered by these letters Vermont was receiving a great deal of attention, both from her own historians, and those of New York, over the Ethan Allen campaign and the incidents preceding or connected with it. Histories, monographs, magazine and newspaper articles galore were written around and about this subject. Hon. L. E. Chittenden, Hiland and Henry Hall upheld the honor of Vermont; J. H. Trumbull that of Connecticut; H. W. Dawson of the *Historical Magazine* and Judge William Hay, that of New York; while the Rev. B. F. DeCosta jumped in and out administering impartially, punishment to both sides. As is usual in such disputes there was a great deal of unnecessary bitterness, acrimony, and prejudice displayed on both sides.

In presenting the following letters, the writer would state they are exact transcripts of the originals the only parts omitted being those of a purely personal nature or referring to the *History of the Town of Queensbury* and not germane to the Ticonderoga Expedition. The letters are given where possible in chronological sequence.

I. FROM REV. B. F. DE COSTA.

316 E. 15 Stuyvesant Park,

New York, Nov. 25, 1867.

Dr. A. W. Holden:—

My Dear Sir:—I have to thank you for your last letter & contents, also for the paper with Art. IX on Queensbury. ⁽¹⁾ I notice that you speak of Arnold as entering *Ti* with Allen, thus following Baneroft who says that Arnold “emulously kept by his (Allen’s) side.” I have examined Baneroft’s authorities with care & find that they do not bear him out. On the contrary I have the best of proof that Arnold did not reach the Fort until a day or two afterward, when he again claimed command of the troops and had his hat knocked off [for] his pains by Allen. I should like to know if you have anything beyond the Conn. historical collections bearing on the point. My authority is Beaman who acted as Allen’s guide, & with his father and mother spent the previous day at *Ti* as DeLaplace’s guest.

You also speak of Forts George & Gage as being seized by Parks. I apprehend that there was no garrison at the latter place, nor can I find much about it any way. In one old map it is called Fort Lyman. Lyman you know was on the ground in 1755 & 6. I judge by your account that you think the English garrison left Fort George before Park arrived. If so how could the Commander have surrendered his sword to Park. I see that you do not give the date of the affair. I suppose it is some what legendary though I should be glad to know to the contrary. Of late I have become a perfect skeptic, and only believe when they give me Chap. & verse. I should like to see the authorities in this matter. The British officer’s name is not given. ⁽²⁾ The commander there in 1777, when Baroness Reidsel came up to lake was Col. Anstruther.

I should be glad to see other copies of your Queensbury chapters which bear on the subject. The American Archives afford good material which would bear on the Queensbury region.

Note No. 1.—Pub. in Glens Falls Messenger, Nov. 15, 1867. See also “The Capture of Fort George” following this article.

Note No. 2.—Afterwards discovered to be Capt. John Nordberg. DeCosta’s Lake George, pp. V-VI, Appendix, N. Y., 1868.

I have consulted them for Lake George with profit. I am now trying to get access to the unpublished archives in the Congressional Library. I shall delay my historical sketch until the last minute. My engravings are nearly finished. I remember Lossing's views, and the Harpers have agreed to let me have several. I should be glad of any photographs you may have bearing on the subject. I should have given up the matter wholly but for the fact that I had got started on the engravings before I heard of you through Dr. Cromwell. ⁽³⁾ I will return any photographs sent me in a few days, as I only need them to sketch from. I have started the matter of hon. membership in Mass. Hist. Genealogical Society.

Yours very truly,

B. F. DeCosta.

P. S. I forgot about the Diocesan Division. ⁽⁴⁾ I am afraid that you are cut off from the great source of vitality now, or will be when the thing is accomplished. But we shall see.

B. F. D.

Within the past few days, in fact just as this article was going to press, through the kindness of H. McKie Wing of Glens Falls, the writer came into possession of Volumes I and II of the Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, edited by E. P. Walton of Montpelier, (the Munsell of Vermont). Volume I, pages 319 to 500 contains a reprint of the scarce and now unobtainable "History of Vermont by Ira Allen." It is very evident that Dr. DeCosta and some of the Vermont Historians were unfamiliar with Ira Allen's account of the exploit. Ira Allen says "At length, after considerable altercation, Colonel Arnold was admitted as second in command, and to enter the garrison with Colonel Allen, AT HIS LEFT HAND * * * * * It being a peaceable time, a wicket gate was left open wide enough for two men to pass a-breast; when Colonels Allen and Arnold approached, the out sentinel attempted to fire, but his gun did not go off; he turned and

Note No. 3.—Dr. James Cromwell, a prominent physican and citizen of Caldwell (Lake George), N. Y., from 1848 to 1875.

Note No. 4.—The reverend Doctor's prophecy as to the results which would follow the separation of the Diocese of Albany from the Diocese of New York has fortunately not been fulfilled. The Diocese of Albany under the beneficent direction of Bishop Doane became one of the leading dioceses of the Episcopal denomination.

ran through the wicket gate, and Allen and Arnold rushed in after him, and their men followed them." (p. 363).

Had Dr. DeCosta been in possession of this information from not only a contemporary but a brother of the chief actor, he would not have fallen into so ridiculous an error, as to state that Benedict Arnold was not present at this time, even if he did not give any credence to the letter from Col. Allen published in Force's Archives (Fourth Series, Vol. II, page 606), containing practically the same information.

In 1835 Nathan Beman, at that time living in Malone, published in a local paper, being then in his 79th year, an account of his connection with the Expedition. In this Beman claimed that Arnold did not accompany the Expedition in any capacity. It was not long however before Dr. DeCosta found it was not safe to rely on the garrulous wanderings of an old man in his dotage. ⁽⁵⁾

II. FROM DR. DE COSTA.

Stuyvesant Square,
316 E. 15th St.,
Dec. 4, '67

Dr. A. W. Holden:

My Dear Sir

I have to thank you for your favor of Nov. 30, with the enclosure, which I will retain until Stoddard ⁽⁶⁾ sends something better, when I will pass it over as directed. My engravings are pretty well on, I shall begin typesetting next week. Your list contains one of "Silver Cascade" at Caldwell, this is news. I never heard of it before, though I inquired for such things when at the lake. I should like very much to know where it is and to see the picture. I do not know that Stoddard has one. Rogers in his journal mentions a water fall on the east side of the lake, but I infer that it was a winter institution.

Note No. 5.—Article by Beaman in Franklin County (N. Y.) Gazette, copied in Glens Falls Messenger, Jan'y 17, 1868.

Note No. 6.—S. R. Stoddard, artist, photographer, publisher guide books on Lake George Champlain and the Adirondacks, and cartographer, still at Glens Falls, N. Y.

I have read over your letter with care, and I have looked Lossing with reference to Arnold & Ti., but do not find that he gives any authorities. I have looked over the American Archives, and find that Arnold claims more for himself than Bancroft does for him. (See Arch. Vol. 2, p. 557) also (N. York Jour. June 1, 1775 & Aug. 3, 1775) Beamans narrative is utterly at variance with Bancroft & Arnold, & I am now trying to get at the real worth of Bemans character. (7) The accounts of the time were exceedingly ex-parte. All I want is to get the facts for my brief narrative of Ti. I have as little respect for Allen as for Arnold. I find by the N. Y. Journal that an attempt was made to give all the glory to Col. Easton. I do not believe that the true history of the affair has ever been written & the farther I get into it the less hope I have of getting at the truth myself.

About Ft. George you say that it is a "recorded fact that the artillery companies did proceed down the lake & entrench themselves at Diamond Island". Also that "the Records of the Provincial Congress show that at the time the British garrison at the head of the lake consisted of two companies of Artillery". I had previously made search on these points & have since looked about considerable, but find nothing of it. I should be glad to know where in the records the facts may be found.

In 1773 Crown Point blew up and at that time Ti could accomodate only 50 men. Gen. Haldiman wanted 200 more, but there was no accomodation. The following year (1774) there were only a *few* soldiers at the head of L. George to *forward supplies* (8) & when *Ti.* surrendered there were only 40 men in the garrison. I have hunted up all the English & American papers relating to that year, also the English army registers, but find nothing of a garrison at Lake George. Ti & Cr. Pt. are *alone* mentioned. Yet the father of Skene was appointed to the command of the *three* posts and was on his way to take possession when he fell into

Note No. 7.—Dr. DeCosta goes back on Beaman in a severe attack on his veracity published in Dawson's Hist. Mag. for May, 1868, pp. 273-274.

Note No. 8.—This local tradition when finally run to earth showed Diamond Island to have been fortified, not in 1775, but in 1777. Holden's Queensbury, pp. 456-457. Quotes Stone's Memoirs of General Reidesel, Vol. I, pp. 124-5.

the hands of Colonial authorities. This is as near as I can get to the matter with present light. I should like to know where the subject is alluded to in *Provincial Records*.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

B. F. DeCosta.

III. FROM DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

Albany, Dec. 19, 1867.

Dear Sir:—

You inquired of me some time ago whether I could point out any Books that refer to your Section, of which I am glad to learn you are endeavoring to illustrate the early History.

I hope that you will continue your valuable labors and furnish the public eventually with a Volume on the subject. It is historic ground and will well repay research. * * *

I have carefully read your Papers in the Glens Falls Messenger and found them very interesting. On a subject with which you are most familiar, it would not become me to pretend too much knowledge. My remarks consequently cannot be of much value. In the Messenger No. 35, Aug. 30, '67, in the paragraph at the foot of the last column, the printer has made it is presumed a typographical error in printing Mr. William Gilliland "*Sir* William". Mr. Watson of Essex Co., has lately published some account of this Gilliland, who I think was originally a private soldier in one of the British regiments that served in the French War, and so became acquainted with the country about Lake Champlain.

In the same par. I read:

"About the same time (May or June 1765) the proprietors of Queensbury deeded to Mr. Abraham Wing a section of 10 acres of land immediately at the Falls, on condition that he should build there a saw mill and grist mill for the accommodation of the inhabitants. This condition was complied with."

I have been fortunate enough to find among the papers here an "Account for Building a Saw mill at Queensbury for Moses Clement" copy whereof I transmit with this letter. It appears therefrom that a Sawmill had been built in the summer of 1764.

In the no. of Sept. 13, among the Grand Jurors at the First County Court at Fort Edward, I find the name of Joseph McCrackin.

He was commissioned Captain in the 2nd N. Y. Continentals, commanded by Col. Vanschaack, 28 June 1775, and was stationed about Skeenesboro and Ticonderoga; was recommissioned in same regiment 21 Nov. 1776, lost an arm at the Battle of Monmouth 28 June 1778; was appointed Major of the 4th N. Y. Continentals 29 May 1779, and resigned his commission 11 April 1780. On 31 March 1781 he was appointed Commissioner for detecting and defeating conspiracies within this State, and on 24 July 1782, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Charlotte County Regiment of Militia.

Colonel McCracken died 5 May, 1825. (9).

Should I find other matter to interest you, it will afford me much pleasure to communicate it. Meanwhile I remain,

Respectfully yours,

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

A. W. HOLDEN, ESQ. M. D.

Glens Falls,
N. Y.

The Joseph McCracken mentioned by Dr. O'Callaghan was one of the signers of the petition despatched to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, on June 10, 1775, from Crown Point. His name has heretofore been given by the writer as one of the additional men with Allen at Ticonderoga.

Regarding Col. McCracken, Judge James Gibson, of Salem, says: The life of Col. Joseph McCracken was so intertwined with the rise and progress of Salem that it cannot be fairly written separately. He was an integral part of the town over fifty years. His only surviving grandchild that I know of is Mrs. Mathews, now living in Sandy Hill, aged 86 years, and highly intelligent. She is the mother of Mrs. Baker, the wife of Editor Baker, and keeps her own house. I would like you could see her. She has, as

Note No. 9.—See additional list Allen's men by J. A. H.

I judge, some of the noble characteristics of her Grandsire. (Letter to Hon. A. W. Holden, Oct. 2, 1874).

William Gilliland, mentioned in the O'Callaghan letter, claimed in a petition to the Continental Congress in 1777, that he was "The first person who laid a plan for and determined upon seizing Ticonderoga, C. Point and the King's armed vessel, & therewith the entire command of Lakes George & Champlain. That by means of your memst. an unhappy dispute wh subsisted between Mr. Allen and Mr. Arnold (the then rival Heads of our handful of people on L. Champlain) was composed. In consequence of wch your memst (besides several other matters) took the Liberty of recommending to your honors, the embodying the Green Mountain boys. Col. Allen delivered the letter." (Watson's Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley, pp. 175-176).

There was a well circulated tradition that William Gilliland, who was the pioneer of the Champlain Valley settlements, at this time living at Willsboro, in company with Colonel Allen and Colonel Skene had planned to establish a royal colony, which was to contain the New Hampshire Grants, and Colonel Skene was absent in England on this errand at the time, returning just in time to be made a prisoner at Philadelphia. The matter is spoken of as an established fact in Ira Allen's History, heretofore referred to, pp. 360-361. (It is more than probable that John Brown stopped with Gilliland on his journey northward in the winter, and there heard from Gilliland, for the first time, of the advantages of seizing Ticonderoga. Gilliland, might easily have arranged with Brown at this time, who says in his letter, "I have established a channel of correspondence through the grants which may be depended upon," to get word to the Green Mountain Boys, the people whom Brown said were to undertake the affair. Gilliland could have managed this through the medium of Peleg Sunderland of the Grants a noted hunter and guide, and his companion Winthrop Hoyt, who were Brown's guides on this journey. (Hiland Hall's History of Vermont, pp. 467-71). (Brown's letter in Force, 4th Series, Vol. II, pp. 443-45. For Sunderland, see Chittenden's address, pp. 94-99.) Gilliland was a remarkable character whose life story reads like a romance, but cannot be given in detail here.

IV. FROM DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

(The following letter refers mostly to the Town of Queensbury, so those matters have been elided):

Albany 30, Dec., 1867.

My dear sir,

I received in course your letter of the 20th instant, and as an installment, sent you last week a sketch of the biographies of Col. Duer and Col. Romans.

The latter, I now find, was at Hartford, Ct., 28th April 1775, when the plan was formed there to sieze Ticonderoga and he & other gentlemen set out from there, and eventually one party marched against Ticonderoga; another against Skeensborough (Whitehall) and subsequently, on the 12 May, he took possession of Fort George. You can compare these dates with that of the capture of the first mentioned fort. The date, 12 April '75, Col. Doe. VIII, 597 is wrong. It ought to be "May." I note the Vols. in your library, and know nothing to suggest as an addition, except Spark's edition of Writings or Letters of Gen. Washington 12 vols., and Letters to Washington 4 Vols, all 8vo, published in Boston. John Adam's Letters published by the Govt. at Washington, may have something. You will do well to consult Force's Archives, 8 vols folio. They were printed at the expense of the Govt. and possibly some of the former Representatives in Congress from your district may possess a copy.

I have rec'd Glens Falls Messenger 20 Dec. 1867. The petition of Nordbergh already sent you, solves the difficulty you may have experienced respecting him. I regret I cannot throw any further light at present on "Daniel Parks". I shall bear the name in mind, and if I discover anything respecting him will communicate it.

I shall overhaul the Records of Indian Treaties in the Secretary's office again, though with little hope of finding any minute of that Indian Treaty at Fort George. Meanwhile, I find in Force's Archives, 4 Series, Vol. 5, p 981, the following extract of a letter from Fort George, dated 18 April 1776.

"This day arrived with their interpreter (Mr. Deane) the Indian delegates of the Seven Tribes in Canada, from the Congress

of the Six Nations at Onondaga. I was introduced to, and had the honor to take them by the hand. Deane says, they have resolved to observe a strict neutrality and have appointed deputies to attend our Indian Commissioners at Albany, and may be daily expected there”.

V---FROM DR. F. B. HOUGH.

The particulars of the Capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen are in Force's Archives and are such substantially as narrated by Bancroft. Allen and Arnold entered the fort *pari passu*. Col. Eaton afterward claimed that honor, but Capt. Delaplace answered and denounced the pretensions. I'll copy Delaplace for you if you like. It is only a few lines.

You have in this letter an answer as to the circumstances which led Romans to go to Fort George. I have already sent you his biography. Enclosed is the extract I copied in pencil from Force. * * *

I believe I have disposed now of your queries and when I look over the Indian Treaties will again report.

I have a remonstrance of Wm. Duer to the N. Y. Convention against the election of Delegates for Charlotte Co., 1776, but as this is not within your limit, I have not sent it, and shall not unless you request it.

Yours very truly,
E. B. O'CALLIGAN.

A. W. Holden, Esq., M. D.,
Glens Falls, N. Y.

P. S.—I receive today a letter from the Rev. Mr. DeCosta of New York City. As a curious coincidence he makes the same enquiries about Nordberg and Daniel Parks, which I have already answered in my letter to you. I suppose he is one of your correspondents.

Glen of Glens Falls, settled at Chambly, in Canada, where and at Montreal I think there are some of his descendants. A Dr. Glen was a fellow student with me at the latter place.

There was a local tradition to the effect that there was a convention of Indian Chiefs at the head of Lake George about this

time to arrange for a Treaty of Peace. This is the matter referred to in the foregoing letter. The date of this convention however is definitely settled by the following communication:

Lowville, April 23, 1869.

Dr. A. W. Holden,

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 16th of Feb. is found by me on my return from a long absence. I cannot *here*, speak *certainly* as to what papers there may be extant at Albany concerning the Treaty at Lake George with the Canada Indians about 1794. It was abortive and not consummated till 1796.

See my Hist. St. Lawrence and Franklin, p. 128. Assembly Journal, 1794, p. 93, 129, 132, &c.

Seek also in "*Clinton Papers*," State Library, for data of this period. I have some papers among my Mss. but am absolutely unable to refer to them, having just been appointed "in charge of U. S. Census," and with a pressing amount of work before me.

The "Indian Treaties" do not come down to this date, but the Mss. referred to above, embrace later materials than those printed. In haste,

Yours,

F. B. HOUGH.

VI. EXTRACT FROM DR. O'CALLAGHAN'S LETTER, JANUARY 4th, 1868.

"I do not think Capt. Mott, Art. IX, was on his way *from* Ticonderoga with his company. It is stated in Duer's letter that he was going *to* Ticonderoga, when stopped by Duer. The letter dated 5 June was laid before the Com. of Safety in New York the 11 July. Duer had intelligence on the 21st May of the proposed attempt to close the Courts at Fort Edward, and prevailed on Capt. Mott, then on his way to Ticonderoga to halt his men. Mott had plenty of time to go afterward to Ticonderoga and then to reach New York.

At p. 27, Journal of N. Y. Convention, Vol. 2, is an application from one Gershom Mott, dated New York, June 6, 1775, for a Captain's Commission. He was appointed Capt. of a company

in the 1st 114 Continentals 28 June, 1775, was appointed Capt. in Nicholson's regt. in Canada 15 April, '75, and served in the Canada Campaign. See *Life of Lamb* (Col John), in whose regiment of artillery this Gershom Mott was commissioned Captain Jan. 1, 1777, and served to the end of the war, and had a grant of 1800 acres in the Military Townships of Brutus, Cincinnatus & Ovid.

I mention these particulars and dates in order to enable you to determine the point of identity between him and Edward."

VII. FROM DR. B. O.CALLAGHAN.

Albany, 6 Jan'y, 1868.

Dear Sir:

I sent you a package of Ms. Notes today, which I hope will at least show you how much I am interested in your literary labor.

You asked me if Captain Edward Mott, whose letter from Force's Archives dated Shoreham, Vt., 11 May, 1775, was the same Capt. Mott mentioned in your Art. IX as being at Fort Edward about the 5th of June and whether he was on his way *to or from* Ticonderoga at that time.

I gave it as my opinion that he was on his way *to* that Fort, and added some information respecting Capt. Gershom Mott.

I find now these particulars respecting the latter, are irrelevant to the subject you relate, and that the Capt. Motte of Duer's letter was Edward.

Here are the proofs, Duer says:

"As Capt. Motte is on his way to your congress, I esteem myself bound in gratitude to mention his alacrity in supporting good order within your Province, not doubting that such a line of conduct will recommend him to your attention, "Journal of N. Y. Prov. Convention 1, 72.

On p. 74 and same Vol. is a letter from Col. Benj. Hinman to N. Y. Congress dated Ticonderoga, July 3, 1775, wherein, after relating the ruinous condition of the Fort, he goes on to say:

"Captain Edward Motte, who, will wait on you with this, will give you further information."

Now, both Duer's and Hinman's letters were read in the Committee of Safety in New York on the same day, 11 July, showing that Captain Edward Motte, was the bearer of both despatches.

The letter of Col. Hinman also shows that Motte was at Ticonderoga on the 3rd July, whence it is conclusive that when he met Duer he was on his way to that place.

Hinman's letter also mentions the arrival on the 2nd July at the Fort of Lt. Col. Samuel Motte, "who is appointed engineer by the Colony of Connecticut," and has taken a survey of this place and of Fort George. (10.)

Whether Samuel and Edward were relatives, I have no means at hand of ascertaining.

Yours,

E. B. O'CALLIGHAN.

Dr. Holden,

Glens Falls, N. Y.

The manuscript referred to in the above communication consists chiefly of excerpts from Force's Archives and various authorities on the Expedition which have already been referred to. The majority of them not being within the scope of this article. The William Duer referred to was an exceedingly distinguished resident of Washington County, although of English birth. He was a great friend of Philip Schuyler, and erected saw, grist, and snuff mills at Fort Miler, N. Y., and later on a powder mill. He had also a spacious mansion, his wife, "Lady Kitty" Duer, a daughter of Lord Sterling, being one of the noted belles of the colony. He was appointed second judge of Charlotte County (Philip Schuyler being the first judge) and held the last royal court in that county before the Revolution, June 20, 1775. The inhabitants of the Hampshire Grants had made a mockery of Charlotte County justice, even to the extent of trying, without success, to mob the court and prevent trials at Fort Edward in March, and although Colonel Duer knew an attempt would be made by the mob to break up his courts in June, he notified them he intended to hold court even at the risk of his life. (11.)

Note No. 10.—Force's Archives Fourth Series, Vol. II, pp. 1538-39.

Note 11.—Holden's Hist. of Queensbury, page 403; Bench and Bar Washington County, Hon. James Gibson, Salem Review Press, 1888; Johnson's Hist. Washington County, page 40; Stone's Washington County, pp. 135-136.

In order to clear up this point the following from Force is inserted here:

WILLIAM DUER TO NEW YORK CONGRESS

Fort Miller, June 5, 1775.

Sir:—I esteem it a duty which I owe to the Province to inform you that my apprehensions with respect to the designs of the people in this County to stop the courts of justice, were not ill founded. A party of the people on the NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, strengthened by some persons of desperate fortunes and characters in the western districts, had formed a resolution of abolishing the law; and to effect their purpose, had actually marched on their way to Fort Edward. Yesterday fortnight I had intelligence of their design, and by a lucky incident put a stop to their proceedings, at least for the present.

Captain MOTT, who is the bearer of this, was marching his company to join the forces at TICONDEROGA. I mentioned to him the intelligence I had received, and applied to him for his assistance. This gentleman coincided with myself in opinion of the absolute necessity there was of keeping up at least the shadow of order and justice, and detained his company at Fort Edward in order to protect the Bench. The riotous party getting information of this unlooked for relief, desisted from their attempt.

As Captain MOTT is on his way to your Congress, etc. [See Dr. O'Callaghan's letter Jan. 4, 1868]. * * *

Your interposition in this matter may save the spilling of blood the next Court, for so long as I know it to be the sense of the Country that the courts of Justice should be supported, and that I have the honor of sitting as one of the Judges, I shall endeavor to keep them open even at the risk of my life. I am, Sir, with respect, your obedient humble servant, Wm. Duer.

To Peter Van Burgh Livingston, Esq., President of the Provincial Congress at New York. (American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. II, 1775, pp. 910-11.)

Whether Lieut. Colonel Samuel Mott, engineer of the colony

of Connecticut, and who served as an engineer at Ticonderoga under Colonel Hinman and Gen. Schuyler, was a relative of Edward Mott, the writer, like Dr. O'Callaghan, has no means of determining.

In 1776 Colonel Mott was stationed in August, September, October and November at Skenesborough, Fort Ann, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He probably received his appointment on account of his familiarity with this section of the country. (12.)

As Dr. O'Callaghan says, Captain Mott would have had plenty of time to have been at Fort Edward on June 20th, and in New York the 11th of July. In fact, John Brown riding express brought the news of the Capture of Ticonderoga to the Committee of Safety at Albany May 12th. He appeared before the Continental Congress at Philadelphia May 17th. While Captain Phelps reported to the Connecticut Assembly May 27th, at which time the Assembly wrote to the Massachusetts Congress, "they were sending four companies at once to march to Ti." (Archives pp. 17-19.) Therefore there would have been no physical difficulty to prevent Captain Mott from meeting this company anywhere between Albany and Connecticut and marching to Ticonderoga with them.

Judge Duer must have accompanied Captain Mott to Ticonderoga for we find Walter Spooner, one of the special envoys, from the colony of Massachusetts to Ticonderoga, commending Judge Duer—for helping to quell the mutiny among Arnold's men after the Massachusetts Committee had relieved Arnold of his command. (13.)

VIII. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

Jan'y 22, '68.

Dear Sir:

I have asked old Mrs. McKean about Clemons or Clements' mill in Queensbury, but she never heard of any such. Mr. Beman

Note No. 12.—Orderly Book of Capt. Ichabod Norton, by Robert O. Bascom, Fort Edward, 1898.

Note No. 13.—Spooner to Governor Trumbull, 4th Archives II, pp. 1540-41, also to New York Congress, pp. 1539-40.

was certainly mistaken as to Benedict Arnold not being at the Capture of Ticonderoga. Beman was a mere boy and probably did not learn all the facts because not pushed forward on the entry which was effected by Allen jumping on the sentinel's back, seizing his musket, threatening into silence and entering a wicket gate; Arnold being at his side. Those facts I learned from Captain Ashley (formerly of Poultney) who was, by marriage, a relative of Allen and acted as his aide at the capture. Ashley appeased the quarrel between Allen and Arnold at Castleton. That quarrel was undoubtedly renewed at Ti. Beman witnessed the outbreak that he described as having occurred on the temporary floating bridge between Ti and Mount Independence (afterwards so named). Arnold wished to remove the captured cannon to Cambridge, according to the purpose of his mission or expedition thwarted by Allen's previous march from Bennington. Allen wished to use those cannon for defense of Lake Champlain and attack on Montreal if not Quebec. The State of New York, however, took charge of the cannon and so indiscreetly disposed of them that cannon to fortify Ti. were in 1776 and 1777 actually obtained in Albany.

On Thursday evening I am to repeat at Ballston Spa., my statement concerning Lura Boies' life, poetry and genius. ^(14.) Mrs. Boies writes to me that she has received money enough to pay off the purchase price mortgage, but we wish a little more to finish at least another room in her *home*, for now it may properly be so termed. The recent agitation has brought the book (Rural Rhymes) into demand, and I have therefore advised her to keep a supply at Glens Falls and other places accessible to purchasers, Fortsville being really a sequestered spot. Thus on that subject all is well that has ended well and Mrs. Boies feels very grateful to you, Mr. Coffin, and other friends who have rendered assistance.

Res'y,

Jan. 22, 1868.

WM. HAY, Sar. Spr'gs,

Doc. A. W. Holden,

Glens Falls, Warren Co., N. Y.

Note No. 14.—Lura Anna Boies, the young and gifted poet of Saratoga County, who in the fruitage of her womanhood was taken away in her twenty-fourth year, was the author of a small book of poems entitled "Rural Rhymes," one of the best known of which is "Jane McCrea." The Rev. Dr. J. E. King, one of our valued members and Judge Hay did what they could to make the last days of the mother of Miss Boies comfortable, which explains the allusion in the letter.

IX. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

Feb'y 2, '68.

Dear Sir:

I am much obliged for the last Glens Falls newspaper containing your article promising an account of Capt. Norberg's capture by Cap'n. Romans at Lake George. Your persistent investigation has been a great success, which I trust will be pursued until all the documents are discovered. May it not be that on his route Roman's may have stopped at South Glens Falls for supplies and been accompanied thence to Fort George by some of the Parks family. One of their number being left in charge of the Fort as he surely was when the murder was perpetrated at South Glens Falls. The Fort (George) was abandoned by retirement to Diamond Island of all the British troops (two companies) as soon as Burgoyne's communication with Lake George was interrupted by his advance toward Behmus Heights. It is therefore improbable that the Parks seized Fort George in 1777. I shall wait, with anxiety for your next publication. Do you locate the clearing which was four miles from Ft. Edward? It may have been where old Abraham Wing settled (the present William Macdonald farm). ^(15.) And that where old Enos Curtiss resided (the present Parsons farm), ^(16.) Was the last clearing (3 miles from Lake George) near Bloody Pond, or at Fort Williams, a half mile south east of George Brown's tavern. ^(17.)

Res'y,

WM. HAY,

Feb. 22, 1868.

Doc. Holden,

Glens Falls, N. Y.

What think you of my conjecture that the Clement mill may have been located a half mile below Glens Falls and on the site of the old Benjamin Wing and Enos Curtiss saw mill (which I well remember) to which a road conducted from the house of old Abraham Wing, Benjamin's father? Perhaps in 1764 there was no

Note No. 15.—Where the Glens Falls Home now stands.

Note No. 16.—Now the Keenan Farm near the Warren Street Railroad Crossing, Glens Falls.

Note No. 17.—Now as then celebrated as the Halfway House between Glens Falls and Lake George.

other road to the falls (Glens then, or soon after Wing's) on the north shore of the Hudson.

W. H.

It is not passing strange that Laplace at Ticonderoga should have been *surprised* after Roman's seizure of Fort George. W. H. (18.)

X. FROM DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

In a letter from Dr. O'Callaghan dated Jan. 4, 1868, we take the following referring to Fort George: "On 21 or 22 June, 1759, Gen. Amherst arrived at Lake George. The rear of his camp was where the old Fort stood, and on the 22nd Lieut. Spencer, Engineer, was ordered to see what is to be done for immediate defense. Working hours were from 5 to 11 and from 3 to 7. 30 June 200 masons and 300 workmen to parade tomorrow morning to work for the Engineer. The number of workmen was afterward advanced to 450 and were employed daily on the works until the 20 July, when orders were issued to start on the following morning at 2 o'clock for Ticonderoga. Col. Montrossor was chief engineer of Amherst's Expedition and he superintended the erection of Fort George at the head of Lake George in July, 1759. *Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book, Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan*, pp. 40-86. It was called Fort George after the King of England then on the throne. It is called "Fort George in the entries of 28th July, 1759. (19.)

XI. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

Dear Sir:

I regret that I have not yet found time for our rambles about Queensbury. I accidentally saw the last Feb. number of the (New York) Historical Magazine. It contains Revd. B. F. DeCosta's article relative to "Daniel Parks and the Capture of Fort George." I have sent to that Magazine's editor and proprietor, Mr. Dawson

Note No. 18.—The Parks matter to which Judge Hay alludes will be discussed at a little more length in the chapter which is to close this article under the head of "The Capture of Fort George in 1775."

Note No. 19.—The Montrossor Journals, Coll. N. Y. Hist. Socy. for 1881, pp. 11-12, etc.

of Morrisiana, a correction of Mr. DeCosta's errors. The same number contains Hiland Hall's communication concerning "the New York Dellius' Patent." I have also answered Mr. Hall's misstatements. Whether Dawson will publish my communications I know not. ^(20.) Wm. L. Stone informs me that his edition of Gen'l Reidsel will be issued in a few days. Last night I had a call from B. C. Butler. ^(21.) He told me that his book is being printed in Albany where last winter he conversed much with Doc. O'Callaghan, who referred him to many manuscript authorities and two books in the state library. Butler's compilation may therefore be useful to you, as it refers to the Town of Queensbury. Butler informs me that (on Hiram Rockwell's ⁽²²⁾ request which originated Butler's Book, he has added a map (copied from that in the Colonial Documents) and from which he made as to Fort William Henry an actual survey, which I find corresponds substantially with the old Continental map the lines of which were traced by General Hoyt. I pointing out to him the various lines and batteries. Since I began this letter I have received Wm. L. Stone's translation of Reidsel in 2 thin volumes. After reading them I will send them to you. I am pleased that Warren County and its vicinity are receiving so much investigation, which must furnish considerable material for your proposed work. It will, of course, be more complete from the necessary delay in preparation and publication. You fortunately are possessed of the required patience and diligence for thorough scrutiny. I have made an arrangement for publishing my Burgoyne's Campaign next year. And shall not regret even another year's delay. Frequent correction of error satisfies me that no historical work should be printed until after considerable postponement and frequent review.

Note No. 20.—Judge Hay's articles were published in full in *Historical Magazine* for April, 1868, pp. 251-252, Dellius Patent, and May, 1868, pp. 310-311, Fort George and Daniel Parks.

Note 21.—B. C. Butler was a prominent resident of Warren County at this time, living at Luzerne, N. Y. He was a man of ability, a trifle eccentric, but an enjoyable person to foregather with. He published his work on Lake George and Lake Champlain in 1868, it having several editions. He represented Warren county in the Assembly in 1860.

Note 22.—Hiram J. Rockwell then of Luzerne, later of the Rockwell House, Glens Falls, afterwards of Troy, and for many years at the Kenmore and Ten Eyck, Albany, came of a famous hotel-keeping family, and as a boniface had a reputation that was nation wide. The family name is ably sustained by his son, F. W. Rockwell, of Albany, &c.

"Bide your time" is an indispensable rule of authorship. My lack of means luckily, although unpleasantly inculcate that duty of delay.

Res'y,
WM. HAY,
Sara. Springs,
June 10, 1868.

Doe. A. W. Holden,
Warren County,
Glens Falls, N. Y.

It is to be regretted that Judge Hay's "Historical Novel concerning Burgoyne's Campaign," was never published except in the Glens Falls Republican for 1869. While partly fiction the historical foot notes are invaluable to the local historians of Warren, Washington and Saratoga Counties.

XII. FROM JUDGE WILLIAM HAY.

June 13, '68.

Dear Sir:

Dominie DeCosta sent to me his prospectus, but I did not know till now that he had published. He is all over priest and has in a lecture at the east attempted to prove that Ethan Allen had little to do with the Capture of Ticonderoga. DeCosta seems just now to have discovered, what we all knew long ago, that others aided and that the Allen's (especially Ira), was in sham negotiations with the British relative to the controversy between this state and the Hampshire Grants. I will send to you the Feb'y number of the Historical Magazine, the Editor of which I fear may not publish my answer to DeCosta, who seems to be a regular contributor. Those magazines are too much controlled by cliques. * * * I had not until receipt of your letter heard of Doe. Fitch's Church History (²³); but presume that he will publish in Albany, because Salem has no book-printing establishment, only a newspaper. "Burgoyne's Campaign" is the title of Charles Neilson's history, which is a very creditable book; except that he

Note No. 23.—Dr. Asa Fitch, Scientist, Historian and Scholar. His history of Washington Co. appears in the transactions of the New York Agricultural Society for 1848-49.

is too anxious to locate on his father's farm all important occurrences and more too. I will not forget the Plattsburg Campaign of 1814. I believe old Capn. Ashley was called "Uncle Tom" but I am not positive because I have got him confounded with Stephen Ashley, who removed from Troy to Sandy Hill. I intend to visit Poultney and will then be able to tell you all about him. I recollect however that he acted as ensign in the Ticonderoga expedition. The first postmaster I recollect at Glens Falls was John A. Ferriss, subsequently reappointed. At the time of Emmon's appointment who (if I recollect right), was succeeded by Adonijah Emmons, and James Henderson became postmaster at the Oneida, but whether he was the first postmaster there I know not. Orange Ferriss (²⁴) can obtain from the P. O. Department a complete list. I have no documentary testimony as to Fort Gage; but believe he was at Lake George with Amherst and perhaps with Abererombie. I will look at Gage's biography. I remember that he mismanaged in Johnson's western expedition of 1756. * * * [Matter relating to Glenn family and Queensbury omitted]. I never heard that Carleton's raid caused the destruction of any other building except the old Jones house and a few more in that vicinity. Of course I do not include many in Ballston burned by Col. Munroe, who had been by Carleton detached from Bulwagga Bay.

Resp'y,

WM. HAY,

Sar. Sp'gs,

June 13, 1868.

Doc. A. W. Holden,

Glens Falls,

Warren Co., N. Y.

Captain Ashley, to whom Judge Hay has referred, is mentioned in Bascom's list of Ethan Allen's men. His correct christian name was Thomas, and a silhouette of this old warrior, with a sketch appears in the Journal of American History of 1909, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 602-603.

Judge Hay mentions the name of the first postmaster at Glens

Note No. 24.—Hon. Orange Ferriss, of Glens Falls, son of J. A. Ferriss, was a student of Wm. Hay. He was County Judge from 1851 to 1863. Representative in Congress 1866-70. Commissioner Southern Claims Division for years. 2nd Auditor of the Treasury under President Harrison.

Falls. Mr. Ferriss' bond, with others, has been presented to this Association by Postmaster Edward Reed, by permission of the Post Office Department at Washington.

The writer hopes the publication of these letters may invest the capture of Ticonderoga with a little human interest throwing as they do, entertaining little side lights on the men and events of that time.

THE CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE IN 1775.

In the Holden correspondence will be found a number of references to Bernard Romans and to Daniel Parks, the alleged captor of Fort George at the head of Lake George, N. Y., in connection with the Ticonderoga Expedition. Judge Hay and Dr. DeCosta excoriated each other with caustic pens because Charlotte County, through its pioneer, Daniel Parks, sought to reap a little glory out of this exploit ⁽¹⁾. It has remained for the writer to find from an unexpected source, confirmation of an old fire-side tradition, and to deduce probable proof to clear away the inconsistencies which bothered my father and the local historians of his day.

Just below the dam at Hudson Falls, N. Y. (until the spring of 1910 known as Sandy Hill), is the sightly cement bridge of the Union Bag and Paper Company stretching from its mill in Hudson Falls across the Hudson to its big plant at Fenimore in Saratoga County. Until the installation of the mills and up to within a very few years the spot was known as "Parks Ferry," from its original settlers, and an old ferry was operated here for a great many years.

Let us turn from this spot a moment to connect Col. Romans with our story.

Col. Bernard Romans was a Hollander by birth, removing to England when he became a competent engineer, then emigrating to the Southern Colonies before the Revolution. He served as official botanist in Florida, where he lived from 1763 to '73, publishing

Note No. 1.—See Dawson's Historical Magazine, N. S., Vol. III, for Feb'y, 1868. DeCosta on Parks matter, p. 95; id. May 1868, Wm Hay, reply to DeCosta, pp. 310-311; Vol. V, Jan'y, 1869, DeCosta in rebuttal pp. 51-52.

a book on that province in 1775. He was employed that same year by the province of New York, under direction of the Committee of Safety, to construct defences in the Highlands. He also served his adopted country in various capacities, meantime publishing several learned treatises up to 1780, when he was captured by the British while on ship-board and held a prisoner at Jamaica till 1783. He either died or was killed on his return passage to this country. "He left behind him a high character as a professional man and as an author." (2)

How he became connected with this "Expedition to Ti." is not known. He however must have been in Connecticut at the time. The original idea of the promoters of the scheme in that colony seemed to contemplate Col. Romans taking charge of the whole matter. He had already started when Capt. Mott, who appears to have been a rather aggressive and bumptious individual, and anxious to show his authority on all occasions, set out under authority of the Connecticut Committee to overtake Col. Romans. The latter, judging from his later record, appears to have been a very competent officer, but with a too "highly strung" and highly organized nervous temperament. Possibly Mott got on his nerves, as he did on those of Arnold later. At any rate Romans left the Connecticut party at Pittsfield, much to Mott's pleasure, who says, they were glad to see the last of him. (Conn. Hist. Col., Vol. I, p. 109, also compare Mott's Journal), and proceeded to perform a separate exploit, by capturing Fort George.

We will now try to link together the conflict of testimony between the Parks legend of Judge Hay and Dr. DeCosta's claim that Romans alone took Fort George, and that Parks had nothing to do with it.

In order to do this the writer will use, without apology or quotation marks, a published account of the Parks affair from the pen of his father, Dr. A. W. Holden: (3)

Note No. 2.—Holden's Queensbury, p. 397.

Note No. 3.—Another account of the Parks family is given by N. B. Sylvester as follows:

To secure the names of the few families said to have been in the town of Moreau before the Revolution, with dates of settlement, has been a work of considerable difficulty. The following account is pretty well authenticated. There may be names not secured, but those who are mentioned in the following pages are believed to be correctly given.

Elijah Parks came from Salisbury, Conn., in 1776, and in connection with his sons—a part of them already married—purchased eight hundred

At the time of the capture of the fortress at Ticonderoga, by Ethan Allen, May 10, 1775, or rather a few days later, a party of the sons of liberty, assembled at Kingsbury Street, and made some preparations to celebrate the event, by building a bonfire and other hilarious demonstrations. A party of Tories hearing of the intended event, rushed in, scattered and extinguished the bonfire, and with angry threats and some violence dispersed the assemblage, and so intimidated the friends of the colonial cause, that but little attempt was made by the Whigs of Kingsbury to exhibit their predilections until after Burgoyne's surrender, when most of the Tories escaped to Canada.

CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE.

After the close of the French war, and at some period prior to the settlement at Bakers Falls, the fort at the head of Lake George and the intermediate posts and blockhouses were abandoned. The forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point being of more substantial construction, were considered an adequate protection on a frontier no longer threatened by the annual incursions of the Indians, and the no less savage half-breed settlers of the Canadian border. At the time of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Allen and Arnold, and of the expedition of Capt. Herrick, Fort George, which had been partially dismantled, was inhabited by an invalid British

acres of land at South Glens Falls. Elijah built the dwelling-house, afterwards known as the "old castle", and a saw-mill about on the site of the present lower mill of the Morgan Lumber Company. His son Daniel settled on the flat down the river, the present Bentley place. Lewis Brown, a son-in-law, and Ephraim Parks had another house near that of Elijah, above the old castle, a double log house. These were the first houses at South Glens Falls, and perhaps the first in town. It is said there were families between Fort Miller and Fort Edward on the west side of the river when the Revolutionary war broke out, but the dates and names are very difficult to obtain; and as the date of the Parks emigration is well settled by records in the hands of Merwin Parks, Esq., 1766, as given above, this very likely constituted the first opening in the forest of Moreau. In 1775, when the news of Lexington was stirring the blood of Americans all over the land, about the same time that Colonel Ethan Allen was thundering at the gates of Ticonderoga in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress, Daniel Parks, a man of gigantic stature, "born to command", gathered a few neighbors from Fort Edward and, without any pretense of orders from Congress or anybody else, not claiming even the authority given by Colonel Allen, pushed through the woods nine miles, and demanded and received the keys of Fort George. This is the tradition in the Parks family, and it is well sustained by the fact that upon Daniel Parks' tombstone, who died in 1818, there is the following inscription: "One of the veterans of the Revolutionary war. He was the man that took the keys from the British officer at Lake George in 1775". (Extract from History of Saratoga County, by Nathaniel Bartlett Sylvester, 1878—Moreau—page 422.)

The key business is what stirred the gorge of Dr. DeCosta, and what the writer believes capable of a rational explanation.

officer—a captain by the name of John Nordberg, and two others named John McComb and Hugh McAuley, who are supposed to have been formerly soldiers, and remained possibly as pensioners and adherents of the British government. Their duties seem to have been the care and supervision of the fortifications and structures hereabout, and to lend such aid and assistance as might be needed in forwarding messages, expediting expresses and the transmission of orders between the military headquarters at Albany and Montreal. A tradition in the Parks family, resident at the bend of the river, in the town of Moreau, opposite from Sandy Hill, associates the name of their ancestors with this capture. Across the river, nearly opposite to but above the dam where the mills are now erected, and quite a distance from the banks of the stream, in a sheltered, sequestered nook, is located

THE PARKS FAMILY BURIAL GROUNDS.

Here, on one of the few modest marble slabs marking the resting place of the dead, is one containing the following inscription:

In memory of
DANIEL PARKS,
Who departed this life March the 3d,
1818, aged 78,
One of the Veterans of the Revolutionary
War. He was the man who took the
key from the British officer at
Lake George in 1775.

Whether Parks on his own motion and with the aid of a few volunteer patriots, accomplished this act, or whether it was done by the command of some superior authority, there is now no documentary or historical evidence to prove. At all events, by the showing herein given, sustained by family tradition, the name of Daniel Parks remains enrolled among the minor heroes of the Revolution, as a friend of the colonies and liberty.

THE PARKS MASSACRE.

Whether it was a sequel to this enterprise and a retaliation therefor, since as family tradition has it, the officer at Fort George

told Parks "he would be sorry for making this capture," or instigated by a private or personal feud; or, what is more probable, one of those frequent marauding incursions which, from time to time, at irregular intervals, occurred along the Northern frontier, instigated by Tory malevolence and partisan hatred, there happened at some time between this event and the close of the Revolutionary War the following massacre, of which a brief detail is handed down to us in

THE FAMILY TRADITION

There was in the British army a captain by the name of Daniel Parks, who took an active part in quelling and reducing to subjection the aboriginal and savage inhabitants of the American continent prior to the Revolutionary War, whose residence was in one of the Southern States, probably Virginia. This theory is warranted by the fact that the Parks family were prominent in the early Virginia annals, associated with the Washington and Custis families. A son of this original ancestor, also named Daniel Park, removed and settled in Salisbury, Connecticut, where he resided until a few years prior to the Revolution, when he removed to Wing's Falls (now Glens Falls), Charlotte County, N. Y., where he purchased a tract of eight hundred acres of land, situated along the south bank of the Hudson river, and settled there, erecting the first mills and dwellings at that locality. About the year 1777, while the Revolutionary War was in progress, and the country was swarming with predatory and marauding bands of savages and Tories, his house, which stood on the brow of the hill above the paper mill, was assaulted at night by a band of these miscreants. They demanded the keys to his desk and secretary, where he kept his papers and valuables. The old man refused to deliver them. Thereupon one of the band clinched him, upon which a scuffle ensued, which resulted in getting the old man down, when one of the party drew up and shot him. He was supposed by the family to have been at that time about seventy-five years of age, and he thus died in defending himself against British aggression.

Among this band was a Tory of the name of Richardson, who lived in that vicinity, and who had purchased of the old man Parks

a piece of land containing about one hundred acres, for which Parks held his obligations, and it is confidently believed that the murderous wretches were incited to the commission of this diabolical act of cruelty by a desire to get possession of Richardson's obligation, and thus have his land free from the incumbrance.

ELISHA AND ISAAC PARKS.

sons of the old man above mentioned, resided with their father, but the attack of the Tories was so sudden that they, not being at hand, were unable to render the old man any assistance, and when they arrived on the scene of action, and entered the house, they found their father dead, and his assassins apparently gone. They struck a light, and hearing a noise, Elisha, a young married man, went to the door, holding a candle or lantern in his hand, to make a reconnaissance. The door was one of the kind which opened half way down, and as he bent over the lower half he made a conspicuous target for the rifles of the Tories, still lurking in ambush among the bushes at the end of the house. He was shot while his wife stood by his side, across the abdomen, and his bowels gushed out. Holding them up as he could, he with his wife and brother, escaped from the house, and fled down the river to the home of his brother Daniel, who lived about a mile down the river on the clearing now known as the Bentley Place. Not knowing the further purpose of the assassins Daniel, with his family and wounded brother, made their way to the river, which they hastened to cross in a canoe, taking refuge for the night in the Baker mill, at the head of the falls. During the night Elisha died, and his remains and those of his father were buried on the site of the Presbyterian church. It being the beginning of the first burial ground on Sandy Hill, it is stated traditionally that the stones which marked their place of

Note No. 4.—Dr. Holden's authority was Daniel E. Parks, attorney and counselor at law, at that time, 1874, but lately removed from Sandy Hill. He had it from his father Barzella, who had it from his father Solomon, son of Daniel. Dr. H. is inclined to the belief however, that the massacre occurred in 1776, in which he is supported by two other family statements. Dr. H. believes it associated with the escape of Sir. John Johnson and his tory gang to Canada in that year. (Holden Mss. Notes in C. P. Book.)

Note No. 4.—Shortly after the Revolution the Parks family returned and the head of it built a house known locally for many years as "The Castle". This old house has only this present year been demolished, by its now owner, George H. Childs, who started to tear it down in March, 1910, to give place to a modern structure. A number of relics of Revolutionary days were said to have been found in the process of demolition.

sepulcher forms a part of the foundations of the church above their graves.

Some of the neighbors at the Baker place (Narrative of the Baker Family), tried to institute a pursuit, but before the militia could be rallied the marauders were so far away on their retreat that pursuit was useless. The effect of this raid was to break up for some years the settlement on the south side of the river, then known as the Parks Mills. On the following morning Daniel procured a team, and removed his family with such household furniture as could be readily pushed and transported within the protection of the military force then stationed at Fort Edward. When that post was abandoned by the American army, he retreated with it to Bemis Heights, where he participated as a volunteer in that memorable and eventful engagement.

CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE BY COL. ROMANS.

Col. Romans, as has been said, leaving the Ticonderoga expedition to go its way, followed the well defined trail either to Albany and then back to Fort Edward, or crossed over from the Hampshire Grants. At Fort Edward he picked up some men for we find in his bill to the Colony of Connecticut (published in full in DeCosta's *Lake George, its Scenes and Characteristics*, appendix I), this charge: "To expens^s on road at Mead^w Runbridge and Fort George: 16 men £ 1. 10." (6.) Undoubtedly the trained engineer, having in mind the transit and conveyance of heavy artillery over the old military road, that being the prime object of the expedition, would seek to get road makers at the nearest point to fix up the bridges over the various brooks and make the rough road easier for the work at hand.

This brings "the conclusion of the whole matter" in sight. In 1879 under the auspices of the New York Historical Society, a Mr. DeLancey, annotated and published "Thomas Jones' History

Note No. 6.—The Meadow run brook, called on military maps Four Mile Creek, or Five Mile Run, because about that distance from the Lake George military posts, was named Meadow run because here was a large beaver meadow, where the first settlers got their hay. (Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 180.)

Note No. 7.—See Arnold's letter to Massachusetts Committee of Safety advising them of Roman's efforts in this direction, and commending him for his services. (Force's *Archives*, Fourth Series, Vol. II, p. 585.)

of New York During the Revolutionary War.''' Jones being a Tory, and the history giving the Tory side of the controversy. The story of the taking of Fort George is found in the Appendix of Vol. I, among the editor's notes (pp. 549-551), and is herewith given in full:

In a letter from Adiel Sherwood ⁽⁸⁾ to Gov. Tilden of New York, dated "Kirkwood, Missouri, near St. Louis, July, 1875, and endorsed as received at the Executive Department July 17th, 1875, and now filed in Vol. IV, Miscellaneous Mss., in the State Library, giving accounts of Revolutionary incidents he had collected in Northern New York and elsewhere, is the following account of the surprise and capture of Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George by a party of New Yorkers. It is not mentioned in any history, and may explain the reason why Congress ordered there the captured cannon of Fort Ticonderoga.

"About the time Ethan Allen took Ticonderoga, a company of some ten men in the garb of hunters, commanded by Captain Pitcher, the father of Gov. Nathaniel Pitcher, and Samuel Parks as Lieutenant, captured Fort Wm. Henry at the head of Lake George, Only 4 or 5 men were in the Fort, and the object of the Americans was not suspected. These facts I had from Gov. Pitcher in 1835, also from Mr. Parks, who resided in Saratoga Co. just opposite Sandy Hill."

The original Fort William Henry was demolished by Montcalm after he captured it in 1757, and never rebuilt. Fort George, built in its stead afterwards by the English on the rising ground a little to the east of the old site, was, and is, often called William Henry by mistake, and is doubtless the fort so called in the above account.

Governor Nathaniel Pitcher, of New York, the authority for the above account, was in the New York Assembly, 1806, 1815, and 1817; in the Constitutional Convention of 1821. He was elected Lieut.-Governor in 1826, and succeeded to the Governorship on the death of DeWitt Clinton, February 11, 1828, and held the office of

Note No. 8.—See also Holden's *Queensbury*, biographies of Seth and Adiel Sherwood, pp. 119-123.

the unexpired term. He was in the United States Congress from 1814 to 1823, and from 1831 to 1833, and died at Sandy Hill, Washington Co., N. Y., 25th May, 1836, aged 59.—Hough's Am. Biog. Notes p. 326. (9)

The following relating to Sherwood and incidentally to Ethan Allen and his famous catch phrase is found in a letter (part of which was used in relation to Col. Joseph McCracken) written by the late Judge James Gibson of Salem to Dr. A. W. Holden, Oct. 2, 1874. He says:

Salem, Oct. 2, 1874.

HON. A. W. HOLDEN.

Dear Doctor:

I enclose herewith some notes of the Bradshaw family—whether of importance you can judge, and use accordingly. * * *

In regard to Col. Adiel Sherwood I have been trying to get the perusal of an apology for his surrender of Fort Ann, written by Winfield Scott Sherwood, and published if I recollect right in a newspaper then printed at Glens Falls sometime about 1840.

You know that the belief of the people at the time of that surrender was uniform, that it was a treacherous or *cowardly* act. The former I have never believed—but this latter is more difficult to disbelieve. There were members of his company from this town, who were surrendered as prisoners, and who died in the belief of his misconduct. But you are aware how mistaken oftentimes the contemporary popular cry is & therefore will hesitate—examine—before final determination.

I allude to him in his *civil capacity* in my court house address a copy of which I sent you.

I freely acknowledge that there have been times when I have been examining facts of his own stating, in connection with what I had ascertained from himself and from other sources, that have disgusted me, as much as did the perusal of Ethan Allen's four

Note No. 9.—Adiel Sherwood was undoubtedly a lineal descendant of Col. Adiel Sherwood of Fort Edward, who commanded at Fort Ann in 1780 and was forced to surrender to Major Christopher Carleton in the October Invasion of that year. He was severely criticised then for alleged cowardice in surrendering, as Col. John Chipman of "Ti Expedition" fame only gave in at Fort George after a stiff fight. As he was not courtmartialled, however, and later held both military and civil offices of honor and trust, the accusation has long since fallen to the ground as untrue. (Holden's Queensbury, p. 49.)

divers' accounts of how "I took Ticonderoga? & in one of which he gets off the myth of the "Great J. & the Continental Congress" for neither of which he ever had any respect, except when he had a purpose to serve. And I cite his case, as I fear in his diversity of statement, he & Col. Sherwood were alike.

But enough for the present while I remain, yours ever,
JAMES GIBSON.

P. S.—I am trying to locate Cheshire's Mills for you, and hope I may succeed.

(Over for Col Sherwood).

Col. Sherwood is buried in the old graveyard in rear of the Baker house at Sandy Hill & his gravestone says:

In memory of Col. Adiel and Sarah
Sherwood. He was born Dec., 1749 in
Washington, Conn. A Captain in the
Revolutionary War; taken prisoner at
Fort Ann Oct. 10, 1780; died Dec.,
1825. She was born June, 1775. Died
March, 1827.

Turning now to Fort George, at this time like Crown Point and Ticonderoga, probably in a tumble down condition, we find it occupied by Capt. John Nordberg, who writes as follows to the New York Provincial Congress: (10.)

"THE MOST RESPECTABLE GENTLEMEN,

"PROVINCIAL CONGRESS IN NEW YORK.

"I beg leave to represent to the most respectable Congress this circumstance.

"I am a native of Sweden, and have been persecuted for that, I have been against the French faction there.

"I have been in His Britannick Majesty's Service sinse January 1758.

"I have been twice shot through my body here last war in America, & I am now 65 years old—reduced of age, wounds & and gravels, which may be seen by Doctor Jones's certificate.

"1773. I got permission in Jamaica to go to London where I

Note No. 10.—N. Y. Misc. Papers, Vol. XXXI, p. 15. See DeCosta's "Narrative of Events at Lake George," pp. 47-48 id. "Lake George," pp. 120-125; "Holden's History of Queensbury," pp. 400-01.

petition to be an Invalid officer, but as a foreigner I could not enjoy a commission in England, or Ereland His Magisty was graciously pleased to give me the allowance for Fort George 7 shilling sterling per day, with liberty to live where I please in America, because the fort has been abandoned this 8 year and only 2 men remain there for to assist any express going between New York and Canada. I arrived here in New York last year in September with intention to live in New York: as I heard nothing els than disharmony amongst Gentlemen which was not agreeable to my age. I resolved to go to Fort George and live there in a little Cottage as a Hermit, where I was very happy for 6 months.

“The 12 of May last Mr. Romans came & took possession of Fort George, Mr. Romans behaved very genteel and civil to me. I told that I did not belong to the army and may be considered as a half pay officer invalid, and convinced him that I was pleagd with Gravell, Mr. Romans give me his passport to go to New Lebanon for to recover my health, & he told me that in regard to my age, I may go where I please.

“As I can’t sell any bill for my substance, & I can’t live upon wind and weather, I therefore beg and implore the most respectable Congress permission to go to England, and I intend to go to my native country, I could have gone away secret so well as some others have done, but I will not upon any account do such a thing—I hope the most respectable will not do partially to refuse me, because major Etherington, Captain Brown, Captain Kelly which is in the army have been permitted to go to England, and it may happen they return here again on actual Service, which old age & infirmities render me incapable of.

“As it is the custom among the Christian nations and the Turks, that they give substance to every Prisoner according to their Rank should the most respectable Congress, have any claim upon me to be a prisoner here, I hope they will give me my subsistence from th 12 of May last, according to My Rank as Captain I implore the favor of the most respectable Congress answer. I have the honour to remain with great respect,

“GENTLEMEN,

“Your most obedt humble Servant

“JOHN NORDBERG.

“NEW YORK, decembr 1775.”

Gathering up now the scattering historical threads, we find that Col. Romans secured the assistance of some sixteen men to go with him to Fort George. We find from the Pitcher account, as written to Gov. Tilden, that a body of men commanded by Captain Pitcher and Lieut. Samuel Parks⁽¹¹⁾ were employed in the capture of that station. We find that Capt. Nordberg gives the credit to Col. Romans, to whom he surrendered. We find that Nordberg was living "as a hermit" in a little cottage at the fort. There must have been other buildings there for the care-takers also. Also some stores and materials of war. Under direction from Col. Romans these were doubtless locked up. This would be done by a responsible military subordinate. Therefore Lieut. Parks was undoubtedly detailed and ordered to make things secure; he may have even kept the keys, as Col. Romans immediately set off for Ticonderoga, where he was associated with Arnold a few days later. And so the pieces of the puzzle fit together, and the problem which racked the brains of Dr. DeCosta of who took "Fort George" is solved.

Starting with the intention of adding a few names to Secretary Bascom's article, this Ticonderoga matter has grown to a formidable size. If, however, the writer has been able to throw even an atom of new light on one of the most written about, possibly best known, and yet most wonderfully exaggerated incidents of the Revolution, he will feel he has not spent his strength in vain, nor wasted his time on details of little interest to the average reader of history.

Note No. 11.—Either a misprint, or misrecollection, there having been no "Samuel" then, so far as any authorities show.



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